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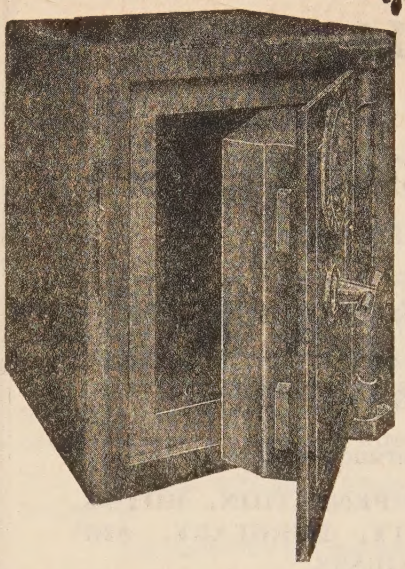

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THE STIGMATA OF SAINT FRANCIS

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Introduction

THE parallel between Christ and S. Francis, His faithful and literal imitator, was obvious even before Bartholomew of Pisa wrote his *Liber Conformitatum*. But nowadays the idea has received new applications. Just as there are admirers of our Lord who for all practical purposes might be Unitarians or Liberal Jews (like Montefiore), so there has sprung up a school of devoted "Franciscanists" into whose head the last thing that would enter would be to accept Francis's creed or to join the Friars Minor or the Capuchins! Sufficient for an age of religious emotionalism and aesthetic dilettanteism is a literary cult of the Poverello in his relation to his sisters the birds and to brother sun. They would surely be frightfully embarrassed if the Poor Man of Assisi were to reappear to-day; he would be sent to a sanatorium or clapped into gaol.

"To me," says Renan (p. 307), "Francis of Assisi has always been one of the most powerful reasons for believing Jesus to have been nearly such as the synoptical evangelists described him." Whereupon he waxes eloquent on the Sermon on the Mount, which he has not the remotest intention of following. But in the Gospels as in the life of Francis there are inconvenient facts. Well, they must be swept away. "One is not accused of great boldness," says Renan elsewhere,[1] "if he reduces to legend what is related of S. Francis of Assisi and of the saints of the Middle Ages. Why should the age of Augustus and Tiberius be an exception?" But the process of *a priori* rejection of evidence is not nowadays so convincing and easy as it used to be. The argument against the Gospels drawn from hagiography, so successfully worked since the days of Conyers Middleton, has rather turned into a counter-argument. People who are inclined to admit levitation in the

[1] *Questions contemporaines*, 1868, p. 225.

case of a medium like Home, can hardly deny the evidence in the case of S. Joseph of Copertino, not to speak of Christ's walking on the water. Anyway, we are no longer quite so certain that contemporary science has a right to tell the historian what he may or may not accept.

I propose in this article to examine briefly the evidence for the stigmata of S. Francis. In such a specialised inquiry it is not necessary to be familiar with the complicated problems of Franciscan history. The following brief bibliography will suffice. Works marked with an asterisk deny the authenticity of the stigmata.

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[1] I have not seen this work.

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Brother Leo

There are two autographs of S. Francis addressed to Leo, his intimate and confessor. Only one of them bears on the stigmata, but their history is so instructive and curious that we shall briefly refer to both. First there is a short letter, probably written in 1220, whose chequered career is as follows:[1]

(1) Leo died in 1271. We *first* hear of the letter 333 years later—in 1604 in Spoleto.

(2) It remained there in the sacristy of the Conventual Friars for about 20 years, disappearing soon after 1623 when Wadding saw it. It is not included in Jacobilli's catalogue of all the relics preserved in the churches of Umbria in 1661.

(3) In 1895 a priest of Spoleto—we do not know how he got it—brought a small piece of parchment to Mgr. Faloci Pulignani, who identified it and presented it to the Vatican. It was afterwards returned, and it is now preserved in the Cathedral of Spoleto.

As Most Rev. Dr. Paschal Robinson says, " the authenticity

[1] Balfour, pp. 7-31; Paschal Robinson, i. 130-133 (with facsimile).

of this letter cannot be challenged." But it has to be proved from *internal* evidence (handwriting and contents); there is no 'historical' proof. *Habent sua fata libelli!* Surely a very apt rejoinder to those who object, on the ground of 'history,' to the authenticity of the Holy Shroud now in Turin.

The other document, which is relevant to our subject, has also had a curious career.[1]

(1) Celano tells us (B 49) that when the Saint was in La Verna "one of his companions," beset by a spiritual temptation, desired some writing of Francis as a keepsake and help. Knowing his unspoken thought, the Saint "wrote with his own hand the *Laudes Dei* . . . and finally a Blessing for the Brother. 'Take this paper,' he said, 'and carefully keep it until the day of your death.' At once all temptation was dispelled; the letter was preserved and subsequently did wonders." The statement was repeated by S. Bonaventure in 1260.

(2) We next hear of it in 1338 in possession of the Conventual Friars in Assisi, where it was kept under glass in a wooden frame. The Brother's name is now given as Leo, *i.e.* 67 years after his death. We hear of it again in 1350, 1370, 1473 (in 'a silver tabernacle'); it is mentioned in a writing of 1586; it was seen by Wadding in 1619.

(3) In the latter part of the fourteenth century, in the purely Italian portion of the *Fioretti* (p. 177), the incident is given in greater detail as happening to Leo on the occasion of S. Francis's reception of the stigmata. "At the end thereof he made the letter *Tau*." In fact the paper still preserved bears, instead of a signature, an upright T—then accepted as the sign of the Cross (*cf.* Ezechiel ix. 4)—standing on a rough indication of Golgotha and a skull: *Dominus benedicat LeTo te.*

(4) There was a controversy as to its authenticity in 1750.

(5) There was another in 1895. The Catholic Professor F. X. Kraus of Freiburg declared it was a fraud. He was answered by non-Catholics such as Sabatier. As only the

[1] Photographs in Balfour, pp. 17, 54, 81; photograph of the document in its shrine in Paschal Robinson, i. 148.

Blessing was visible, Kraus retorted by asserting that the hidden back did *not* contain the *Laudes*. The silver back was removed, and the *Laudes* (partly obliterated) were found. So the case made by a hypercritical Catholic was demolished. To-day no one doubts the authenticity of the document.

There is, in Leo's own handwriting, a precious authentication, of which the following is a translation :—

> The Blessed Francis, two years before his death, kept a Lent in the hermitage of the Alverna in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and Blessed Michael the Archangel, from the feast of the Assumption of St. Mary the Virgin to the feast of Saint Michael in September. And the hand of the Lord was laid upon him. After the vision and speech he had of a seraph, and the impression in his body of the Stigmata of Christ, he made these Praises which are written on the other side of the sheet. And with his own hand he wrote them out, giving thanks to God for the favour that had been conferred on him.—Balfour, p. 66f.

It is incredible how, in face of this evidence, writers such as Hase, Merkt and Hampe should deny that Leo is a primary witness for the stigmatisation. Of course, Leo wrote this note for contemporary Franciscans for whom the fact was certain ; he was not thinking of modern German ' critical ' historians. Nor indeed of English critics like Dr. Coulton who says (ii. 300) :—

> The authenticity of the *Cartula* of Brother Leo seems to be established. . . . But the date of that writing is vague, for Leo lived till 1271—forty-seven years after that Alverna day. It is quite possible that this is the last witness of an old man ; in any case it is improbable that it was written before Celano's *Life* and the Canonisation in 1228 ; while it very probably came even after the Papal Bulls of 1237. In that case Leo also was under very strong and subtle influences which cannot be ignored in any historical study of his evidence.

In fact, according to Dr. Coulton, strong and subtle influences exist or at least prevail only for Catholic writers. So he suggests, without openly saying it, that Leo not only faked the reality of the stigmata but also the date and occasion of the appearance. Why, these friars are capable of any kind of fraud ! But, knowing the heroic life of Brother Leo and the historical controversies of Dr. Coulton, are we really expected

to take this kind of stuff seriously ? We are to imagine that all the process of inquiry by Popes, Cardinals and Religious was pursued without any reference to the principal witness, who then as ' an old man ' fraudulently described a precious relic which for over forty years was worn next his heart. *Credat Iudaeus Apella !*

We know now that Leo took part in the official collection of information instituted in 1246 ; and we also know—from Olivi, Angelo Clareno and Ubertino of Casale—that Leo left many reminiscences in notes. Nor was Leo afflicted with aphasia during all this time. Thomas of Eccleston, writing about 1258, speaks as follows :—

> Brother Leo, companion of S. Francis, told Brother Peter [of Tewkesbury], the Minister of England, that the apparition of the seraph was made to S. Francis while in an ecstasy of contemplation, and [he told this] more clearly than was written in his [First] Life [by Thomas of Celano] ; and [he said] that many things were then revealed to him of which he had never spoken to any living man. But this [the Saint] did tell his companion Ruffino [of Assisi] : that when he saw the angel at a distance he was very frightened and that [the angel] treated him hardly. . . . S. Francis commanded Brother Ruffino to wash and anoint with oil the stone on which the angel had stood, and this he did. These things Brother Warin (Garynus) of Sedenefeld wrote down from the mouth of Brother Leo.—*De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. Little 1909, p. 93.

Thus Leo not only confirmed Celano's account but added further particulars. Furthermore we have the evidence of that famous scandalmonger Fra Salimbene who, writing about 1284, had occasion—quite incidentally—to refer to Francis as the antitype of Ezzelino :—

> In this world there was only one, namely Blessed Francis, on whom Christ impressed five wounds in His own likeness. For, as was told me by his companion Brother Leo who was present, when he was washed for burial he seemed in death like a crucified man taken down from the cross.—*Chronica* (*MGH Scriptores* 32, 195).

If Salimbene, in his conversations with Leo, had detected any discrepancy with the accounts published by Celano and Bonaventure, could he have resisted the temptation to tell us ? Dr. Coulton, who has more affinities with this Friar than with any other, is several centuries too late.

Brother Elias

S. Francis died on 3 October 1226. On the next day—at any rate within a few days—Brother Elias sent a letter to all the Ministers (translated in Balfour, 35-41). Only that sent to the Minister of France is known ; it was published from the original (now lost) by Spoelbergh as late as 1620. But—especially in view of the Chronicle of Giordano of Giano—no one disputes its authenticity. As is well known, Elias had an unfortunate ending.[1] He was deposed from the Generalate in 1232 and died in 1253. He was a great administrator and his work in this respect has lasted until to-day ; but he was tyrannical, centralising and violent-tempered. It is rather amusing to read comfortable British Protestants censuring him for worldliness and for insufficient love of holy poverty ! However, we are not here concerned with such matters of Franciscan history. Of the 77 lines of his Epistle we are interested only in the 8 which deal with the stigmata :—

> I announce to you great joy, even a new miracle. From the beginning of ages there has not been heard so great a wonder, save only in the Son of God, who is Christ our Lord. For, a long while (1) before his death, our Father and Brother appeared crucified, bearing in his body the five wounds which are verily the Stigmata of the Christ. *For his hands and feet had as it were piercings made by nails fixed in from above and below, which laid open* (2) *the scars and had the black appearance of nails ;* while his side appeared to have been lanced and blood often trickled therefrom.—Balfour, p. 38.

This text calls for some notes :—

(1) ' A long while before his death.' This presupposes the reading *nam diu*, accepted by Melchiorri (1856) and Amoni (1880), in preference to Spoelbergh's *non diu* (not long before). Dr. Coulton (ii. 299) calls this " a most unwarrantable manipulation of evidence." Such moral indignation is quite misplaced. We have only one very late edition of a single one of the lost texts. Sabatier (p. 436) says " the reading *nam diu* appears preferable from a philological point of view." But even if we read *non diu*, the reading is in no way incompatible with an interval of two years.[2] It was not long

[1] See E. Lempp, *Frère Elie de Cortone*, Paris 1901 ; D. Devas, *Franciscan Essays*, pp 89-107.

[2] Bibl. 419 ; Joergensen, 409.

relatively to Elias's sixteen years in the Order up till then, nor to S. Francis's life of 45 years. In any case what right have we to expect mathematical clock-accuracy from medieval writers? Celano, who gives the interval two years, recounts the story of the Crucifix in San Damiano speaking to the young Francis in 1206-7. "A short time after" (*paulo post*), he adds (B 11) "the love of his heart was manifested through the wounds of the body." He thus alludes to an interval of about 18 years! "The two years theory," says Dr. Coulton, "leads to very forced explanations of the methods by which Francis succeeded in hiding his wounds so long." Then why on earth did the chroniclers land themselves in such allegedly unnecessary difficulties? Except the question of historical accuracy, there is no point at all at issue in the two years' interval. In any case, the Saint did *not* succeed in concealing the fact from his intimates.[1]

(2) The text has *reservantes*, *i.e.* keeping the scars. In 1905 Balfour proposed *reserantes*, which Dr. Coulton (i. 177) adopted in 1919 without acknowledgement. The point is not important. The Latin original of the italicised sentence is as follows :—

Nam manus eius et pedes quasi puncturas clavorum habuerunt ex utraque parte confixas, reserantes cicatrices et clavorum nigredinem ostendentes.

Here are some other translations :—

For his hands and his feet bore marks as of nails without and within, forming a sort of scars.—Sabatier, p. 436 (apparently omitting the last four words).

For his hands and feet had, as it were, the piercing of nails fixed on both sides, keeping the scars and showing the blackness of nails.—Seton, p. 638.

For his hands and feet had as it were the punctures of nails ; which [punctures] were pierced on both sides, disclosing scars and showing the blackness of iron.—Coulton i. 52f.

In his eagerness to get rid of the nails Dr. Coulton read the text as *nigredinem ferri*, though on p. 177 he gives the

[1] Dr. Coulton's references (ii. 299) to Jacques de Vitry—who says *in morte*, which does not contradict *ante mortem*—and to the blundering Roger of Wendover (who dates the stigmata a fortnight before death) were already given by Merkt and refuted by Bihl (p. 421 f).

correct text *clavorum nigredinem*. What is the meaning of this phrase? It seems clear that this abstract expression of Elias is only an alternative method, regarded as more elegant by the accepted rhetorical canons of the time, for saying *clavos nigros*. Similarly, a few sentences before, Elias has *miraculi novitatem* for *miraculum novum*. Everybody translates this 'a new miracle,' then why not translate the other phrase as 'black nails'? Elias—who was not writing for modern rationalists—is very brief and reserved in his description of this unheard-of phenomenon; but he is curiously emphatic about the *nails* which he mentions twice. Dr. Coulton in 1919 asks us "to look very closely into these words" (i. 53). "This description," he says, "would be satisfied by any amorphous wound, scarcely more than skin-deep on either side, with a dark core in the midst." In those days he failed to look very closely into the text and he read "the blackness of iron." Seven years later, having read the correct text, he repeats the same argument (ii. 294):—

> Would not this vague description be satisfied by any amorphous wound, scarcely more than skin-deep[1] on either side of the hands and feet, which showed a dark core in the midst? . . . The *blackness* we can take his word for; the *nails*, for aught that this letter tells us, are simply an inference.

Well, why not a correct inference? We have the account which Celano wrote in Assisi in 1228, not only with the approval of Elias but with the letter of Elias before him—as we can see from the coincidence in several expressions.

Thomas of Celano

Thomas of Celano wrote his *Vita Prima* in 1228 to recount as he says (A 1), "what I heard from his own mouth or learnt from faithful and proved witnesses, at the command of our glorious lord Pope Gregory." The following is his account (A 94-95):—

> While he was in retreat at the hermitage which from its position is called Alverna, two years before he gave back his soul to heaven, he saw in a divine vision a certain Man, as it were a seraph having

[1] On the same page he says the punctures "ran through from one side to the other"!

six wings, standing above him with outstretched hands and joined feet, [the Man being] fixed to a cross. Two wings were raised above his head, two were stretched out for flying, and two covered his whole body. And when the blessed servant of the Most High saw this, he was filled with very great wonder. . . . .

There began to appear in his hands and feet the marks of nails, such as a while before he had seen in the Crucified Man above him. His hands and feet seemed to have been pierced at their middle by nails: the heads of the nails appearing on the inner side of his hands and on the upper side of his feet, and the points of the nails being on the opposite sides. For these marks were round on the inner side of the hands, but on the outer side long and pointed (*oblonga*), and there appeared a kind of carbuncles, which rose above the rest of the flesh, like the ends[1] of nails bent and driven back. So also in his feet the marks of the nails had been printed, and were raised above the rest of the flesh.

Moreover his right side had been pierced through as it were with a lance; and the wound was open and often let drop blood, so that his tunic and his drawers were often sprinkled with his sacred blood.

Alas! to how few was it granted to behold the sacred wound in the side, while this crucified servant of the Crucified Lord yet lived! But happy Elias to whom a glimpse of it was vouchsafed while yet the Saint lived, and not less happy Ruffino who touched it with his own hands.—Balfour's translation (p. 43f) modified.

[Of Francis's dead body, §113]. It was wonderful to see in the middle of his hands and feet, not merely the punctures of the nails but the nails themselves made of his flesh, and retaining the blackness of iron; and also his right side reddened with blood.

Celano's *Vita Secunda*, written in 1247, was—as the prologue and the prayer at the end as well as modern manuscript discoveries show—based (especially in its second part) on the information sent in to the Minister General (Crescentius) by the companions of the Saint. He does not describe the scene on La Verna. But he describes (B 135-137) Francis's unavailing efforts to conceal the stigmata from his intimates. One friar, seeing his feet, asked naively: What is this, good Brother? The same brother, getting his tunic to shake, noticed it was bloodstained. At Siena a brother from Breschia saw the stigmata on the hands, with the connivance of Br. Pacifico. Knowing the Saint's dislike, his companions delicately averted

[1] *Summitas* (*acumina* in Celano C and in Bonaventure). Seton (p 635) wrongly translates 'the head.'

their gaze when his hands and feet were uncovered. But ordinarily he kept his feet and hands swathed, and he gave only his fingers to be kissed. It is clear from this account that not only Elias, Ruffino and Leo but his other companions knew of the stigmata in his lifetime.

In his *Tractatus de miraculis* (1247-57) Celano describes the vision as he did in the First Life. Instead of *seraphim . . . stantem supra se* (A 94, *cf.* Isaiah vi. 2), he has *seraph in cruce positum* (C 4). And to "the Crucified above him" he adds "in the air." The dead Francis is thus described (C 5) :—

> They beheld the blessed body adorned with Christ's wound-marks (*stigmatibus*); that is to say, they saw in the hands and feet not the fissures (*punctures*) of the nails but the nails themselves marvellously wrought by the power of God, indeed implanted (*innatos*) in the flesh itself, so that if they were pressed in on either side they straightway—as if they were one piece of sinew—projected on the other. They also saw his side reddened with blood. We who recount these things ourselves witnessed them, we felt them with the same hands with which we now write, with tear-filled eyes we traced what we confess with our lips; and that which we have once sworn in touching the holy Gospels we proclaim aloud for all time.—Trans. Thurston, p. 146 f.

As in neither of his two previous works did Celano claim to be an eye-witness, it seems probable that in the last sentence Celano is repeating the asseveration of a statement supplied to him.[1]

The two accounts given by Celano in A 95 and C 4 are practically coincident. But in describing Francis's dead body in C 5 he adds the further detail that the fleshly nails were movable.

As to Celano's credibility, Dr. Coulton objects (ii. 293, 299) :—

> Celano was indeed the first man who produced a full and coherent story . . . But he wrote at least three years, and possibly five, after the event as he conceives it, and almost certainly at second hand . . . . Celano wrote under the strongest temptations to exalt the miracle at every point.

[1] "Friar Ruffino clearly saw the wound [in the side]. Friar Leo likewise and many other friars saw the sacred hallowed stigmata of S. Francis while he yet lived. Which friars, albeit they were by their holiness worthy of faith and to be believed on their simple word, nevertheless, to remove all doubts from men's hearts, did swear upon the Sacred Book that they had clearly seen them."—*Fioretti*, tr. Okey, p. 207. So Bonaventure (P. 127).

To which we may reply :—

(1) Celano's account, officially prepared from the evidence collected, is the earliest which has survived, if we exclude that of Elias ; though independent evidence (*e.g.* of Leo) may be contained in later documents such as the Fioretti.

(2) Celano's authority is not that of an eye-witness, but that of a historian surrounded by eye-witnesses many of whom made written statements.

(3) Celano wrote at the command of Gregory IX who, when he was Cardinal Ugolino, visited S. Francis at Reate in 1225-6. When he met the Saint, ' he used to kiss his hand ' (Celano A 101). In his Bulls of 1237 he asserted that he himself and others verified the stigmata (Bihl, p. 402 f).

(4) Gregory's nephew and chaplain, afterwards Alexander IV, asserts in the Bull *Benigna Operatio* (1255) that he saw the stigmata when Francis was alive, and he also told this to S. Bonaventure (Bihl, p. 404 f).

(5) No one denies that crowds saw the stigmata in the dead Francis. " While the Saint was alive several brothers with us saw this ; and when he was dead more than fifty [friars] with countless seculars paid homage " (Celano, C 5). Some years ago there was discovered in Assisi a small mutilated fragment containing the names of some of those who saw the wounds while Francis was alive and when dead and of those who saw the wounds after death.[1] Many such documents must have been drawn up ; it must not be forgotten that the *acta* of the process of canonisation have not survived.

(6) In the midst of this notoriety, surrounded by such faithful and veracious followers as Brother Leo, Celano is asserted to be ' under the strongest temptation ' to indulge in exaggerations ' at every point.' The question is, Could he have got away with it ? And how do we know of this temptation ? Does every Religious feel impelled to stigmatise his Founder ?

The plain truth is that this condemnation of Celano is

[1] M. Bihl, De quodam elencho Assisiano testium oculatorum S. Francisci stigmatum.—*Arch. Franc. Hist.* 19 (1926) 931-936. Bihl (p. 936) dates the document 1237. Seton (p. 638) says : 1226.

not a historical judgement at all. It is merely the expression of *a priori* prejudice against admitting anything inexplicable or anything to the credit of the Catholic Church. The worst thing that can be said against Thomas of Celano—who remained official historian under such opposites as Elias and John of Parma—is that he had very artificial ideas as to style and wove into his writing all kinds of biblical and patristic phrases. According to Sabatier (p. 435), "Thomas of Celano is so veracious and so exact that, though holding the stigmata to be miraculous, he gives us all the elements for explaining them in a diametrically opposite manner." Thus Sabatier[1] accepts the account owing to the "perfect congruity between the circumstances and the prodigy;" that is, he accepts the La Verna episode as best adapted to some attempt at explanation by autosuggestion. But Dr. Coulton, seeing the weakness of this attempt, rejects the episode and seeks to reduce the stigmata to 'amorphous wounds'; that is, he rejects the evidence because he cannot 'explain' it. One is acting as a credulous psychiatrist, the other as a hard-pressed naturalist; neither is writing as a historian. Prof. F. C. Burkitt speaks more objectively :—

> I Celano remains; we cannot directly get behind it, though we may have reserves based on our knowldge of the over-great discretion of Brother Thomas and his subservience to those in immediate authority over him. With II Celano it is different; for a large part of the work we possess his materials, either direct as in the surviving writings of Leo . . . or indirectly from the collection in the Perugia MS. . . . From these writings of Leo we can have some idea of how much Thomas of Celano alters his sources; and that he may on the whole be trusted appears from the fact that some things which were supposed to have been written by his opponents turn out to be his own composition. The historical value of what Celano tells us depends almost entirely on the source he is using.—Burkitt in *Commemoration*, p. 52.

This favourable judgement comes after a severe scrutiny. But Burkitt—prejudiced by his exclusive devotion to 'documents' in connection with the Synoptic Gospels—entirely

[1] After his discovery of the *Speculum Perfectionis* (1898), Sabatier, flushed with enthusiasm for the heroic and the fantastic, came to regard Celano as the worldly-minded accomplice of Elias and Gregory IX—a view which few accept to-day. But he did not change his view of the account of the stigmata.

overlooks the possibility, or rather the great probability, of *oral* sources of information.

S. BONAVENTURE

The *Legenda*[1] of S. Bonaventure remained for five centuries our main source of information, though a collection of anecdotes called the *Speculum Vitae* has been available in print since 1504. The General Chapter of Narbonne (1260) commissioned him to write it.[2] He travelled to Assisi, interviewed Leo and other survivors. He made a skilful compilation of the previous works, prudently toning down excessive severity of the religious ideal, and also, it must be confessed, accepting several oral tales which do not seem trustworthy. His work was adopted at the Pisa Chapter of 1263 with a resolution to destroy all previous accounts. This may have been regrettable, we really do not know; but these thirteenth-century friars were not thinking of us, not even of Dr. Coulton; they were interested in the practical contemporary exigencies of the Order. We may at least rejoice that they chose a saintly and scholarly writer. This is his account of the stigmata :—

> There began immediately to appear in his hands and in his feet the appearance of nails, as he had now seen them in the vision of the Crucified. His hands and his feet appeared pierced through in the midst with nails: the heads of the nails being seen in the insides of the hands and the upper part of the feet, and the points on the reverse side. The heads of the nails in the hands and feet were round and black, and the points somewhat long and bent, as if they had been turned back. On the right side, as if it had been pierced by a lance, was the mark of a red wound, from which the sacred blood often flowed and stained his tunic . . . .
>
> [After death]. Now were discerned in those blessed members the nails which by the divine power had been marvellously fashioned out of his own flesh, so that being pressed on either side they moved to the other.—*Legenda Maior*, 13 and 15 (Eng. trans., pp. 123 and 136).

[1] We must not interpret this word in the modern pejorative sense. It signifies a biographical work authoritatively confided to a writer and approved for reading.

[2] Jœrgensen 378-381. A contrast to the usual depreciation of Bonaventure by modern pseudo-Spirituals is the judgement of Mr. H. E. Goad: "To this great book above all others we owe the glory of S. Francis in art, in literature and missionary work. . . . In our humble judgement, his book remains incomparably the finest general portrait of S. Francis.—*Commemoration*, p. 151.

There is nothing here which is not already in Celano. So Bonaventure must have verified his account. Concerning the last point—the movability of the nails—he tells us of a soldier of Assisi named Jerome who, being incredulous, " moved the nails in the presence of his fellow-citizens " (p. 138). So he asserts that he found fresh confirmation. But in his *Legenda Minor* he goes beyond this :—

> The heads of the nails in the hands and the feet were round and black ; and the points—which were somewhat long, clinched and bent back—rose up from the flesh itself and stood out clear of the surface. Indeed the clinched portion of the nails beneath the feet was so prominent and projected so far, that not only did it prevent the soles from being set down freely upon the ground, but a finger of one's hand could easily be inserted in the bend under their curved extremities—so at least I myself heard from those who had seen them with their own eyes.—Trans. Thurston, p. 148.

He prudently leaves us to judge of the last assertion for ourselves, merely stating that he had been so informed by eye-witnesses.[1]

Some Objections

Against Celano's account, which we can now consider better in the chain of evidence, Dr. Coulton objects as follows (ii. 298) :—

> In a court of law, not only an advocate but a judge would here note seven apparent points of discrepancy, not perhaps inexplicable but at any rate serious enough to demand very close scrutiny. (1) The nails are now of plastic form if not miraculous, at least very far beyond anything that has ever been authenticated before or since ; (2) the heads of the nails are on the *inner* side of the hands ; (3) there is a seraph (4) on a cross ; and (5) few saw the side-wound before death, (6) but Elias did ; yet (7) the Stigmata had been inflicted two years before St. Francis's death.

(1) We will consider this in the next section.

(2) " All or nearly all of the early paintings represent the black nail-heads on the *outer* side of the hands." This objection is not original ; Dr. Coulton—*horresco referens* !—borrows it from the Jesuit Father Thurston (p. 151 f). But I confess that the objection seems quite absurd to me. Did *any* painter

[1] [Owing to the exigencies of space, the section on the *Fioretti* has had to be omitted. The omission does not affect the essential argument.—Editor].

from 1224 to 1938 try to depict the clinched nails ? I have not discovered one. Considering the early paintings illustrated in Westlake's book and in the article by Borenius in the *Essays in Commemoration*, we find that painters uniformly represent the stigmata by dark-red round spots. What else were they to do ? For example, Sassetta (1444) did this ; are we to suppose he had a special private tradition against Celano ? To interpret these spots as " nail-heads " is ridiculous. In that case we should have to regard Berlinghieri (1235) and Ugolino di Tedici (c. 1270-80) as putting one nail-head in the back and another in the palm, for they paint a spot on the back of one hand and another in the palm of the other hand. A historian who indulges in such reasoning is very hard up for an argument.

(3) and (4). " The seraph of Celano is in other, and perhaps earlier, traditions an angel, with no hint of the six wings characteristic of a seraph ; nor fourthly is there any cross in those traditions." Once again we are dealing with the exigencies and artistic liberty of painters, here dubbed ' traditions.' The earliest known painting of the Alverna scene (Berlinghieri 1235) has a seraph but not on a cross. In a pen drawing—made between 1236 and 1250 and nearer the earlier date—which is found in the margin of Matthew Paris the seraph is depicted on a cross.[1] Two different traditions ? Sassetta (1444) depicts a seraph flying through the air without a cross ; according to Coulton he is following an older tradition which has failed to find any written record ! I see no proof at all that Celano believed in a literal cross. I have not seen the paintings of mere angels ; but I can sympathise with painters who shirked depicting the six wings. But let us restore our slumbering sanity. The vision of S. Francis simply *cannot* be proved *historically* ; the account must have come from himself to Leo or Masseo—we do not know. The matter has nothing whatever to do with the contemporaneously verifiable objective fact of the stigmata. It is rather ludicrous to see a Cambridge Don solemnly catechising Celano on the details of a vision every bit of which he rejects !

[1] A. G. Little in *Collectanea Franciscana* 1 (1914), frontispiece.

(5) According to Celano (A 95, B 138) only Elias and Ruffino saw the side-wound while Francis was alive; Bonaventure (13, 8) mentions a third friar. Dr. Coulton cites Celano C 5 (quoted above p. 188) as contradicting this. But the contradiction, if there were one, must have been equally obvious to Celano. And could he not have acquired further information? In any case, as we pointed out, he is quoting the testimony of some witnesses. The simple answer is, however, that the "this" (*id*) refers to the stigmata in general.

In connection with this we may deal with another objection. According to Bonaventure (16), Gregory IX, before the canonisation, "had a certain scruple of doubt in his heart concerning the side-wound." Hase (p. 160) and Merkt (p. 9) extend this doubt to *all* the stigmata, though we have seen above that the Pope had seen the other stigmata. "If indeed the Pope," says Dr. Coulton (ii. 295 f), "had fully believed in the far more marvellous plastic nail-heads and nail-points, why should he doubt as to this more credible and natural side-wound?" Why, indeed? It is extremely difficult to interrogate a dead Pope! Perhaps the most surprisingly simple answer is: He hadn't seen it! And the reason for hesitation seems rather obvious. On the analogy of our Lord's case, the side-wound was taken as a fatal lance-thrust through the heart. Now it is quite easy, once you have seen it, to believe in a man's continued existence with a plastic nail in his hand; it is not more difficult than surviving with six fingers. But a pierced heart—well, even the Pope had doubts for a time and Dr. Coulton should be the last to upbraid him.

(6) "If Elias did indeed see them before the death, it is a pity that he did not bear this testimony explicitly in his letter." But then, you see, the Franciscans did not reach Cambridge until about 1230, so Elias could not have known in 1226 what the Cambridge Dons wished him to say!

(7) "Yet"—why yet?—the stigmata occurred two years before death. It is very puzzling to know why Dr. Coulton, following certain Germans, has such an animus against this date. In 1919 his solution was this (i. 53): When Francis

was meditating on the Passion in " ecstasy and half-delirium," " he might quite naturally and unconsciously finger his own hands and feet and side " and thus " irritate the already irritable skin." And the blackness of the wounds might have been caused by " a rusty nail." If for a moment I may descend to the objector's level, I confess I cannot see why this half-delirious scratching, plus the employment of a rusty nail, could not have occurred in 1224. In 1926 Dr. Coulton adds another string to his bow and asserts (ii. 301) that " there is very strong evidence for a most remarkable case of autosuggestion." Well, what more appropriate occasion than the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross at La Verna ?

(8) To these objections we may add another : " There was widespread disbelief in the stigmata of St. Francis even towards the end of his own century." [1] This has been refuted by Father Bihl (p. 424). The deniers were few : the Dominican Euchardus in Moravia, a few people in Spain, only one in Italy—Thomas de Aversa O.P. That is, a few people who had no knowledge of the evidence and lived in distant countries together with a jealous Italian Dominican.

" EXPLANATIONS "

The first attempt is to suggest the gradual growth of a legend.

> The pitiable spectacle of a body which bears, over and above the work of death, traces of the martyrdom of a long illness : . . . may not this have been the nucleus out of which little by little the new miracle was evolved ? The final touch, which gave the episode its classical form, is doubtless that of Celano.—Tamassia, p. 112 f.

But, as Renan saw clearly, this theory is shattered by Elias's proclamation of a new and unheard-of miracle on the day of the Saint's death. So Renan (p. 324 f), following Hase, boldly advances the theory of a fraud on the part of the Minister General :—

> [Elias] describes the miracle conformably with the other texts, though rather more timidly. It is therefore impossible to think here of a legendary elaboration, a tardy rumour arising from the wish to

[1] Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, 1907,[2] p. 315.

conform the life of Francis of Assisi to that of his divine model. No ; on the very day of St. Francis's death his stigmata were spoken of. . . . We are almost compelled to conclude either that Elias invented the whole story, thinking it would only reach Assisi after the internment of the body, or that he himself inflicted the sacred marks on the corpse, which was left a whole night in his care.

Practically no one else—except Thode (p. 43)—has felt ' compelled ' to follow Hase and Renan, so we need not waste time in refuting their contention. But just imagine the state of mind of a historian who can calmly assert that all the saintly companions of Francis cheerfully acquiesced in a barefaced lie or in a gruesome outrage.

The next hypothesis is the whittling down of the phenomenon in defiance of the evidence. Says Dr. Coulton (ii. 293) :—

If it were a question of investing money, I would stake it heavily on the existence of five noticeable marks which would at once suggest the five wounds of Christ. It is at the next step, which takes from the natural to the marvellous, that I hesitate ; for I should feel reluctant to stake anything very important even upon the plastic character of the wounds, quite apart from the supernatural method of their infliction.

It is not his money but his intellectual reputation that Dr. Coulton is staking. As we have already seen, he opts for scratching with a rusty nail. Of course, there is nothing original in this vulgarity. Hampe (p. 391) spoke of " inflamed openings in which dirt had gathered," and Merkt (p. 53 f) of black spots in the corpse and a superficial wound in the side. Dr. Coulton's plea is as follows (i. 178) :—

Without excluding the possibility either of autosuggestion or of miracle proper in St. Francis's case, it is the historian's duty to indicate simpler solutions if such can be found.

This barren concession of the abstract possibility of a miracle is suspiciously like an attempt to conceal one's own dogmatic conviction that *in fact* miracles do not occur. Is it the historian's duty, in pursuit of a half-confessed *a priori* prejudice, to treat all hostile witnesses as criminals or fanatics, to dismember and distort plain texts, to invent ' solutions '

which are repugnant to common sense and honesty? In fact, is it the duty of a historian at all to dabble in medicine and psychiatry, to evacuate all evidence not reconcilable with the orthodoxy of what he fancies is contemporary 'science'? Stones that fell from heaven were worshipped by the Greeks, and such falls were frequently recorded. "In most cases however the witnesses of such an event have been treated with the disrespect usually shown to reporters of the extraordinary, and have been laughed at for their supposed delusions." [1] "I commend this history," says a great physicist [2] "to the notice of those scientific men who are so sure that they understand the character of Nature's operations as to feel justified in rejecting without examination reports of occurrences which seem to conflict with ordinary experience." May we not also commend it to historians of the Coulton type? Scientists rejected the stories of stones coming from the sky because the historians told them it was a superstitious belief. Historians rejected them because they thought they were opposed to science. To-day the schoolboy who sees meteorites in a museum can laugh at both sets of pundits.

The proper attitude of a historian is to accept authenticated facts, even though he or his scientific colleague cannot 'explain' them. This is the attitude of Sabatier (p. 434) :—

> I have come to conclude the reality of the stigmata. They may have been a unique fact without being more miraculous than other phenomena . . . . The testimony appears to me to be at once too abundant and too precise not to command conviction.

But the phenomenon of stigmatisation is by no means confined to this unique case. Attempts have in fact been made to find predecessors for S. Francis; but we find only a few lunatics or rogues.[3] But non-Catholics pay little or no attention to his successors. Similarly rationalist critics of the New Testament talk about Epidaurus, but fight shy of Lourdes. Any investigation into S. Francis's stigmatisation is incomplete and misleading if it does not take into consideration the well-authenticated cases of recent times. Father Thurston

[1] Sir L. Fletcher, *Introduction to the Study of Meteorites*, 1908[10], p. 17.
[2] The late Lord Rayleigh, *Life*, p. 387.
[3] See Bihl, pp. 394-398; Thurston, *Month* 134 (1919), 40-44.

has done so and is thereby led to throw doubt on the movable fleshly nails, while admitting the genuineness of the wounds and their persistence without suppuration :—

In some modern stigmatics the wounds have exhibited at normal times—*i.e.*, apart from the periodical bleeding on Fridays—the appearance of a dark raised cicatrice. This may also well have been the case with St. Francis. . . . A slight difference of shape between back and front would probably have sufficed to persuade medieval observers, awe-stricken in the presence of this unheard-of marvel, that what they saw were nails formed out of the substance of the victim's flesh. Moreover, in twenty years' time such an idea, once suggested, would have taken firm root and developed new details, until the witnesses who actually had beheld the marvel of the wound-marks were ready, in perfect good faith, to pledge their solemn word that there were not only scars but counterfeit nails protruding at the back, under the curve of which it was possible to insert a whole finger.—Thurston, p. 150.

To me the evidence for the quasi-nails of flesh seems conclusive, though there is not the same authentication of the insertion of a finger inside the curve. I fail to see what intellectual satisfaction Fr. Thurston finds in his queries ; he swallows the camel and strains out the gnat. Let us judge of the matter by reading the observation of a medical man on a contemporary stigmatist (Theresa Neumann) [1] :—

At the back of the left hand . . . I see a nail-head, rectangular in shape, slightly more long than broad in the same direction as the hand. The rectangle is admirably regular. . . . about 15 by 10 millimetres. The edges are attenuated and almost sharp like those of an iron nail forged with a hammer. They adhere to the skin along their whole extent. The mass of the nail-head is regularly convex, curved like a dome. The top of the dome is about two or three mm. in thickness. It presents numerous but not remarkable unevenesses, as if produced by blows of a blacksmith's hammer on a piece of iron.

The colour is brownish red, like a seal of old wax. The skin of the hand is as a whole white ; but at the periphery of the nail-head it forms a margin, a small border distinctly paler than the skin. This border is slightly wrinkled like that of an ordinary cicatrix of not too long standing. Two days before I had already seen this nail-head

[1] Dr. E. Louis, *La Semaine Sainte* 1930 *à Konnersreuth*, Mulhouse, 1931, p. 34 f. Compare the first-hand evidence of another medical man : "The four-cornered heads of the nails are outlined on the back of her hands, while the points of the nails appear on her palms."—Dr. R. W. Hynek, *Science and the Holy Shroud*, 1936, p. 55. Only in the case of S. Francis do the nail-heads appear to have occurred in the palms.

at close quarters, but not for so long. Besides, it was then suffused with the blood which was oozing from its edges and coagulating on them. I had distinguished only the rounded dome rising above the layer of blood.

On the palm of the left hand I now examine the nail-point. It is slanting over the skin, as if beaten down obliquely by a hammer, in the middle of the hollow of the hand, the point being directed towards the outer edge of the hand. Thus beaten down, it emerges for a length of about 15 mm. It adheres completely to the skin. It is roughly rounded in its breadth, which is about 4 mm.; and the pointed extremity is not very sharp. It is of the same brownish colour as the nail-head.

If a similar description had appeared in the pages of Celano or in the *Fioretti*, with what ridicule it would have been received by the eminent Cambridge exponent of the Scratching Theory! Here we have a medical man of to-day—only one of many—describing what he saw and investigated in a living person. What an amazing corroboration of the story of S. Francis! The phenomenon of the nails, so strenuously denied by German and British sceptics, is reproduced for us to-day in a Bavarian village. A nail-head like one 'forged with a hammer,' coloured like old sealing-wax; a slanting nail-shaft 'as if beaten down obliquely by a hammer.' Almost the very words of Celano. True, these nail-protuberances adhere to the skin. And for some occult reason—for he knows as little about the 'laws' of the thing as anyone else—Fr. Thurston thinks that the same must have been true for the case of S. Francis. One might as well say that for S. Francis as for Theresa Neumann the phenomenon must have been periodic and intermittent. Whatever about the movability of the nails, we have in this peasant girl of Konnersreuth a case of stigmatisation which, while scientifically investigated, nevertheless reads like a page from Celano. The traducers of S. Francis have to meet a new argument.

ALFRED O'RAHILLY

THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN

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MORE than a hundred years have gone by since Monck Mason published his account of the University of St. Patrick's, Dublin.[1] His narrative is uncritical; but at least he had the great merit of printing in full, for the first time, the Latin text of Clement V's bull of July 13, 1312, establishing the University in Dublin; and the *Ordinatio* of the Archbishop of Dublin, Alexander de Bicknor, dated February 10, 1320-21, in which he lays down the rules that are to govern the masters and scholars of the University. Very little has been added to Monck Mason's documentation since 1819. In 1856, when he was Rector of the Catholic University in Dublin, the future Cardinal Newman published a short sketch of "The Ancient University of Dublin" in his book, *The Office and Work of Universities*,[2] but it is no more than a popular statement of Monck Mason's conclusions. In 1885 the German Dominican scholar, Heinrich Denifle, published the first (and only) volume of his *Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, in which he gives a short notice of Clement's project of a Dublin University. In 1895 Rashdall published his *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, in which he relegates his account of the Dublin project to an appendix on "Paper Universities." In 1920 Dr. A. G. Little published a volume on which he had been collaborating for some years with the late Father E. B. FitzMaurice, O.F.M., on the history of the Irish Franciscan province.[3] Under the date 1320 these two scholars have

[1] W. Monck Mason: *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, near Dublin* (Dublin, 1819), pp. 100-104. The text of the two documents will be found in the Appendix, pp. ix-xi. Ware had printed Alexander de Bicknor's Ordinatio in his *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus eius* (London, 1658), p. 77. Harris added an English summary of Clement V's bull in his edition of Ware's *Works* (Dublin, 1762), p. 242.

[2] Afterwards reprinted in Newman's *Historical Sketches* (London, 1872), vol. III, pp. 203-212. The papers were originally published in the *Catholic University Gazette* for 1854.

[3] *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland, A.D. 1230-1450* (Manchester: University Press, 1920), pp. 107-9.

collected some useful information about the later history of this abortive University; and their account has been cited in the new edition of Rashdall's *Universities* (1936) as the fullest account hitherto published. Casual references may be found in the published work of various Irish scholars; but no adequate study of the extant documents has yet been attempted. Recently, I have had the good fortune to stumble on some new information, which throws welcome light on the somewhat broken history of this Dublin venture. In the light of this new evidence I have thought it worth while to examine once more the whole series of extant documents and to draw my own conclusions from them.

Pope Clement's bull of 1312 shows that the projected University of Dublin was planned as a papal foundation. A few words are thus necessary, by way of introduction, on the general policy of the Avignon Popes as promoters of higher studies in Europe. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Boniface VIII still ruled as Pope; and his pontificate is marked by the foundation of two universities, at Rome and Avignon, both founded in the year 1303. The conjunction of these two names is a curious coincidence; for no man guessed in 1303 that the Roman court would soon be transferred to Avignon, where it would remain for the greater part of the following century. In both cities the newly-founded university was overshadowed by the *studium generale curiae Romanae*, which moved with the Popes from place to place, and was thus centred at Avignon for most of the fourteenth century. Clement V (1305-1314) erected a papal university at Perugia in 1308; and he presided over the sessions of the General Council of Vienne (1311-1312), at which an important decree was passed, ordering the foundation of chairs of Hebrew, Chaldaic and Arabic in the principal European centres of study. As we shall see, his bull establishing a new *studium generale* at Dublin was issued a few weeks after the final session of the Council of Vienne. John XXII (1316-1334) was a notable patron of many universities. The index to his published registers shows a long series of bulls and decrees in favour of the University of Paris; he settled the dispute between

the Dominican friars and the University of Oxford in favour of the University authorities; he issued a bull in 1318 raising Cambridge to the status of a full *studium generale*; he reformed the *studium* of Orleans; and he erected a papal University at Cahors (his native city) in 1332. Alexander de Bicknor had spent three years at the papal court in Avignon during the long interregnum that preceded the election of John XXII, and for the first year of the new pontificate; it was from this Pope that he sought confirmation of his *Ordinatio* for the new Dublin *studium generale* in 1321. Benedict XII (1334-1342) erected the University of Grenoble in 1339 and granted a partial charter to Verona in the same year. We shall find Archbishop FitzRalph of Armagh citing the example of this Pope as his own model in the efforts which he made for the promotion of higher studies among the Anglo-Irish clergy after the ravages of the Black Death. Clement VI (1342-1352) co-operated with the Emperor Charles IV in the erection of the University of Prague in 1347; and he granted charters for the erection of a *studium generale* at Pisa in 1343, and at Florence in 1349. Under his pontificate we shall find the Augustinian prior general, Thomas of Strassburg, a personal friend of the Pope, taking vigorous measures for the promotion of higher studies among the Austin friars of Ireland in 1347. Innocent VI (1352-1362) is not named as the founder of any papal university; and no document survives to attest his interest in Irish education. His successor Urban V (1362-1370) was the most active of all these French Popes in his zeal for the cause of higher education. In 1365 he co-operated with the Austrian Duke Rudolf IV in the erection of the University of Vienna; and in the same year he issued a bull in favour of the new University of Cracow, which had been founded by Casimir the Great in 1364. In France he was a zealous patron of his own *alma mater*, the University of Toulouse; he founded two colleges at Montpellier, where he had also been a student of theology; and he erected a new papal University of Orange, close to the city of Avignon, in 1365. Two years later he erected the first Hungarian University at Pécs or Fünfkirchen, where Lewis I of Hungary had

been working for this end since 1360. It is perhaps no coincidence that the Irish clergy should petition this Pope for the furtherance of their claims in 1363, urging as a special motive for his clemency that "in all Ireland there is no university or *studium*."

With that last petition our story ends; but the facts stated in this brief survey suggest that the failure of Clement V's foundation in Dublin was not due to any lack of interest on the part of the French Popes who ruled the Church from Avignon. As we shall see, the failure was due to causes that lay much nearer home. To judge from the terms of Clement's bull, the Pope had planned a *studium generale* in Dublin, which should be a centre of higher studies for the kingdom of Ireland as a whole. But Clement knew little of the true state of affairs here in Ireland, and his foundation was never open in fact to more than a few students from the English Pale. Various attempts were made to revive the scheme in the course of the next fifty years, but they were always made by English officials or English prelates who thought only in terms of the English nation in Ireland. Even within those narrow limits, the scheme was doomed to failure for lack of adequate endowment from the English government in Ireland. As we shall see, Alexander de Bicknor was the one man in Ireland who might perhaps have provided the necessary moral and financial support for the new *studium* of Dublin; but his own career was wrecked by his financial embarassment, and his ruin involved the ruin of his favourite project.

Two copies of Clement V's bull survive to-day: one in the papal archives, and a sixteenth-century copy which has been preserved in Archbishop Alan's register in Dublin. On fol. 76 of Alan's register there is a note, in Alan's own hand, stating that the original bull was lost in a fire at Christ Church Cathedral.[4] Whatever the truth of this statement, we are indebted to Archbishop Alan for an authentic copy, not only of the papal bull, but also of Alexander de Bicknor's *Ordinatio* for the new University, both of which documents were copied

[4] Note in Alan's handwriting: *Cujus Originale comburitur, concremata Ecclesia Ste. Trinitatis Dublin.* I can find no record of this fire.

into Alan's register. Clement's bull is dated *iii Idus Julii pontificatus nostri anno septimo.* Ware, Harris and Monck Mason have all quoted this date as July 13, 1311; and their error has led more recent scholars astray. The true date is July 13, 1312, for Clement V was consecrated on November 14, 1305. The date is of importance, for it proves that the Pope's grant was made within a few weeks of the closing of the General Council held at Vienne during the winter of 1311-12. Moreover, the Pope states in his bull that his grant has been made in answer to a petition from Archbishop John Lech of Dublin. Further inquiry is thus needed to set the Pope's action in its proper background.

John Lech is first heard of in 1307, when he is named as one of the king's clerks in some royal documents. The see of Dublin was vacant at this time, owing to the death of the absentee Archbishop Richard de Ferings in October 1306. Edward II granted various prebends in Dublin to his favourites, these being in his gift during a vacancy; and on September 12, 1307 he granted the precentorship of St. Patrick's to John Lech, his clerk.[5] Lech was not an Irishman, even by birth, so far as we can judge; he certainly held property in Yorkshire. On December 4, 1307, the King gave him license to alienate in mortmain to the abbot and convent of Kirkstall in Yorkshire certain rents from land in Burghdon or Broughdon of the same county, which the abbot held from him; and on October 29, 1313, two months after the Archbishop's death, the King issued a mandate to his sheriff in York to seize all the goods and chattels of the late Archbishop, in payment of certain outstanding debts which Lech had not been able to settle in his lifetime.[6]

The King's grant of the precentorship of St. Patrick's in 1307 was thus most probably the first link between John Lech and his future see. But Lech was also a canon of Dunkeld in Scotland; and it seemed at first more probable that his career would lie in that kingdom rather than in Ireland. The Bishop of Dunkeld died in 1309, and the King used all

[5] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1307-13), p. 6.

[6] Rymer, *Foedera* (first edition), III, p. 447; *C.P.R.* (*ibid.*), p. 24. Lech also held lands in King's Langley; *ibid.*, p. 212.

his influence to obtain the vacant see for his favourite clerk. Three letters which he wrote on August 28, 1309—one to Clement V, another to six cardinals of the papal court, and a third to two officials of the Roman court—are of interest as giving us a more personal view of Lech's career and character.[7] In these letters the King lays stress on the fact that John Lech had spent many years in his service, and had shown himself a most trusty and loyal courtier. He was almoner to the King in 1309, and it was probably at the King's direct request that " the dean and canons of Dunkeld, being zealous supporters of my fealty and lordship " (so he writes to the Pope), had elected the King's almoner as their future bishop. Lech, so the King says in his letter to the cardinals, had been most unwilling to accept the new charge; but the King had insisted in the interests of his government in Scotland, and Lech had finally given a reluctant consent. The King now writes to the Pope and cardinals, urging that the election should be confirmed, as likely to promote peace and good-will in the King's Scottish dominions. But Scottish sentiment was not so easily appeased. On December 14, 1309, the King appointed his almoner, John Lech, to act as his proctor in Dunkeld and to take over all the books, vestments and other ornaments of the late bishop's chapel, according to the custom of Scotland.[8] Soon afterwards Lech seems to have left England for France, there to forward his election at the papal court. The King issued a safe conduct for him, as bishop elect of Dunkeld, on December 11, 1309, and granted him a sum of £200 to forward his election.[9] But money of this kind is apt to go astray, and a year later (December 18, 1310) we find the King writing to Lech, who was presumably at the papal court, saying that he has been informed that this money has been paid to his treasurer at Agen, but that it has never reached the bishop elect. The King is much grieved at this miscarriage, and asks Lech to inform him at once whether he has in fact appointed the treasurer at Agen as his proctor in this matter.[10]

[7] Rymer, III, pp. 164-6. [8] Rymer, III, p. 194. [9] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1307-13), p. 202.
[10] Cal. Doc. Scotland, III, no. 182

These documents make it plain that Lech was not finding his new task as bishop elect of Dunkeld an easy one; and we know from other sources that the Scottish party in the diocese of Dunkeld had elected a formidable rival candidate in the person of William Sinclair, brother to Sir Henry Sinclair, Laird of Roslin. Edward II did his best for his favourite; but the Scottish opposition proved too strong, and the King was finally driven to consent to the election of Sinclair, whom he commends to the Pope in a letter dated February 8, 1312.[11] Meanwhile, Edward II was exploiting the vacant see of Dublin in a most shameless manner. Since the death of Richard de Ferings (himself an absentee prelate) in October, 1306, there had been no Archbishop of Dublin. An election was held at some date in the following winter, and two candidates were chosen by the rival chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's: the former electing Nicholas Butler, the latter their precentor, Richard de Havering.[12] Havering was not even in priestly orders; and he was absent in Aquitaine, on the King's business there. But Edward II used his influence at the papal court to secure the confirmation of his election, which was granted (after some delay, due to Havering's work in Aquitaine) on July 10, 1307.[13] Havering was admitted to the temporalities of the see by the King's order on September 13, 1307, the vacant precentorship of Dublin having been granted to John Lech on the preceding day. But Havering had no mind to be Archbishop of Dublin in more than name. For the next three years he enjoyed the fruits of the temporalities of his see; but, on one excuse or another, he delayed the necessary steps for his consecration. He was still no more than a deacon in 1309, though he seems to have been ordained a priest by the autumn of 1310.[14] However, in November of that year he finally resigned, for conscientious reasons, his claims to the see. His nephew, John de Havering, later archdeacon of Dublin, used to tell the story of a dream which so disturbed the conscience of the archbishop elect that "he came unto the

[11] Rymer, III, p. 303; *Cal. Doc. Scotland*, III, no. 301.
[12] Theiner: *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, pp. 174-6.
[13] *Cal. Papal Letters* II, p. 25; Theiner, p. 175.
[14] Theiner, pp. 176, 180, 182. The Pope nominated him one of his chaplains in 1310.

lord Pope, of whom he was much beloved, and there renounced and gave over the archbishopric." He does not seem to have lost much in the transaction, for (according to the same nephew) "he had fatter benefices and livings than the archbishopric came unto."[15]

Havering's resignation opened the way for a new election in Dublin; and the two chapters met early in 1311.[16] Their choice was unanimous—a rare exception in the records of those days; and their chosen candidate was Alexander de Bicknor, a prominent figure in the chapter of the archdiocese and a man who stood well also at the King's court. But Edward II had his own schemes to consider; and it was becoming more and more plain just then that his candidate for the see of Dunkeld was in danger of being left without a bishopric. Dublin was a better preferment than Dunkeld, and the King had probably taken action before the date of the meeting of the two Dublin chapters. Once again the Pope gave way to the King of England, and Edward wrote to Clement on April 5, 1311, thanking him for his favour in providing his well-beloved chaplain, John Lech, to the see of Dublin.[17]

The new archbishop's movements during the year 1311 are of interest to our subject, as this is the only point in his career at which it is possible that he may have visited Dublin. On February 21, the Pope granted him permission to contract a loan of 800 marks to meet his expenses at the Apostolic See. The official papal bulls providing him to the see of Dublin are dated May 16, 1311.[18] Two months later (July 20) the King issued an order from Berwick-on-Tweed bidding Richard de Havering, who was still acting as the custodian of the temporalities of the see, to hand them over to the new archbishop.[19] In this order it is stated that Lech has done homage to the

[15] *Annals of Ireland*, ed. Gilbert, in *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, Dublin, Vol. II, p. 334; see also Father Ronan's narrative in *Irish Eccles. Record* (November, 1935), pp. 504-6.

[16] Gilbert's *Annals* (p. 339) state that the two chapters met in Dublin on St. Patrick's Day, 1310; and Father Ronan has accepted this date. March 17, 1310, is March 17, 1311, according to our reckoning; but the election must have been earlier than this, for John Lech is named as archbishop elect of Dublin in a papal letter of February 21, 1311: *Cal. Papal Letters* II, p. 82.

[17] Rymer, III, p. 258.

[18] *Cal. Papal Letters* II, pp. 82; 83.

[19] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1307-13), pp. 321; 351; 378.

King by his proctor, William de Birston. If Lech had crossed from France to England, he would have been in duty bound to do homage to the King in person. We may then take it for granted that he was still in France at that time. No record of his consecration has survived ; but it is most probable that he was consecrated at Avignon, for the Pope nominates in the bulls of May 18 three cardinals to give him the pallium. On October 16 the Council of Vienne was solemnly opened by Clement VI, and the Archbishop of Dublin is recorded as having been present at the sessions of the Council.[20] Lech would have had a sound excuse for his absence during the summer ; and we find the King granting him, on November 18, protection in England and Ireland during his absence across the seas.[21] All the available evidence thus suggests that the newly consecrated archbishop had never visited Dublin before the opening of the Council of Vienne. How then does it happen that he presented a petition to the Pope, urging the establishment of a *studium generale* in Dublin, at some date earlier than July 13, 1312 ?

The most obvious solution of this problem is to assume that some representative members of the Dublin chapters journeyed from Ireland to Avignon in the summer of 1311 and brought with them the proposal for a new Irish University. And it is very tempting to suggest that the bearer of this message was no less a person than Alexander de Bicknor, the King's treasurer in Ireland, who had so recently been selected unanimously by both chapters in Dublin as their candidate for the vacant archbishopric. A document is extant, dated June 1, 1311, in which Edward II names a group of English noblemen as his personal representatives at the forthcoming General Council.[22] Alexander de Bicknor's name appears on this list ; and he was ordered (with his companions) to be in London by June 10. The short notice given in this mandate makes it certain that Bicknor must have been in England, probably at the royal court, pressing forward his claims to

[20] Ewald Müller, O.F.M. : *Das Konzil von Vienne* (Münster, 1934), p. 75.
[21] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1307-13), pp. 400 ; 413.
[22] Rymer, III, p. 265.

the vacant archbishopric. On June 2 a second mandate was issued, naming Walter Thornbury as his deputy in the Irish treasury during Bicknor's absence.[23] But it seems almost certain that this royal deputation never left England for Vienne. No mention of these English representatives is to be found in the extant records of the Council; and a second group of representatives was named by the King on October 10, 1311, in which Alexander de Bicknor was not included.[24] He seems to have returned to Ireland about this time, for various Irish documents of March 1311-12 show that he was busily engaged in his work as treasurer in Ireland during the winter of 1311-12.[25] We must therefore dismiss the attractive suggestion that the man who was finally to establish the new *studium generale* in Dublin in 1320 was the man who carried the petition of the Dublin clergy to Vienne in 1312. But Bicknor's influence was evidently very great in the two Dublin chapters at this time, and it is very probable that this scheme of an Irish University was his personal work from start to finish.

The Council of Vienne was in its origin a political gesture, by which Clement V sought to free himself from the increasing pressure of the French King, Philip the Fair, and his unscrupulous minister Guillaume Nogaret. But the affair of the Templars and the threatened posthumous impeachment of Boniface VIII, though they were the main concern of the prelates assembled at Vienne, were not the sole topics of discussion. It would take us too far afield, were we to speculate on the many possible influences that may have helped towards the final drafting and publication of Clement V's bull in July, 1312. Apart from the official labours of the Council, which took permanent form in a series of decrees covering a wide field of ecclesiastical reform, the Council was inevitably a meeting-place where many of the ablest intellects in Europe came together for some months. Private discussions must often have been more stimulating than the public sessions

[23] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1307-13), p. 351.
[24] E. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 66; Rymer, III, p. 281.
[25] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1307-13), pp. 339; 367; 411; 412.

of the Council; and we know that so ardent an idealist as the Franciscan Raymund Lull of Catalonia had a very real influence on the work of the Council.[26] Thanks mainly to his efforts, a decree was made ordering the Universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca to create public chairs of Hebrew, Arabic and Armenian, with a view to promoting the missionary efforts of the Church among the Jews and in pagan lands. A full programme of ecclesiastical reform was drafted for the fathers of the Council by one of the ablest French prelates of the day, William Durant, Bishop of Mende; and he was alive to the importance of educational work on behalf of the clergy.[27] John Lech may have met and talked with any of the assembled prelates; and he must have talked also with the Pope himself. For the text of the bull states that the Pope had been petitioned by John Lech, Archbishop of Dublin; and the description which Clement gives of the position in Ireland can have come only from an Irish source. The petition, so the Pope writes, had set forth that "in the land of Ireland, though there are some doctors and bachelors, at least in the faculty of theology, and others who lecture on grammar as masters in arts, nevertheless there is not in Ireland nor in Scotland nor in Man nor in the parts of Norway any University of scholars or *studium generale*, because there are few in the whole land who are adorned with knowledge of letters." And the Archbishop of Dublin had added another appeal, based on the fact that "since the aforesaid land of Ireland is surrounded by the Ocean, no access is possible to any *studium generale* save by crossing that sea at grave risk;" and he begs that Dublin may be chosen as the site of the new University, "since it is suitable for such a *studium generale* owing to its convenient site and useful conditions."

The mention of Norway, Scotland and the Isle of Man is curious; and the absence of all allusion to the two great English universities—especially Oxford, where so many Irishmen had been students in the faculties of arts and theology—is even more curious. In his comment on this passage Rashdall

[26] Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-7; 641-2.
[27] Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 591-607.

has ventured the suggestion that " the geography of the Irish prelate seems tinged with Home-rule aspirations."[28] That Rashdall should have taken John Lech for an Irish Home-rule prelate is an amusing instance of the great scholar's jaunty disregard for small details ; but there is truth in his comment. Whoever drafted the petition that was laid before Clement V at Vienne must have been familiar with the traditions of Dublin as an ancient seat of a Norse Kingdom in Ireland. As we have seen, it was most probably drafted by some of the Dublin clergy, who then carried it to Vienne. Archbishop Lech may have presented it at Vienne, or he may have waited for the Pope's return to Avignon after the last session of the Council (May 6, 1312). The bull is dated from Groseau, near Avignon, July 13. Lech must have left Avignon for England soon after that date, for we find him in London on October 1, when he appointed his vicar-general, Walter Thornbury, to act for him in Dublin during his absence.[29] He was plainly in no hurry to go to Ireland, for he had already obtained the King's protection for two years during his absence in England (September 8, 1312).[30] On May 20, 1313, the King appointed him his treasurer in Ireland—an office hitherto held by Alexander de Bicknor.[31] The archbishop was preparing for his new duties in Ireland when death overtook him on August 10, 1313. He seems to have died in England, for Ware states that he was buried in Westminster Abbey. It was thus left to his successor to give effect to Pope Clement's bull.

Rashdall's comments on the nature of the Pope's action are worth quoting in full. The bull, he says, " is remarkable in that it makes the establishment of the University at Dublin dependent upon the approval of the archbishop and his suffragans, confers no *ius ubique docendi*, and, while authorizing the *licentia docendi*, does not determine the authority by which it is conferred." These criticisms are less acute than

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[28] Rashdall, *op. cit.* (new ed.), Vol. II, p. 325.

[29] *Liber Niger* of Christ Church, fol. 214 v ; see the *Calendar of the Liber Niger*, No. 102, ed. H. J. Lawlor (*Proc. R.I.A.*, 1908), p. 56.

[30] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1307-13), p. 492.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 585.

might appear on a casual reading. Both Denifle and Rashdall were apt to elaborate a theoretical definition of the exact functions of a *studium generale* in the Middle Ages; and then assume that the Pope or Emperor who was granting the foundation charter must state clearly all the various powers and limitations which the theory demanded. That Clement V made the erection of the new *studium generale* at Dublin dependent on the approval of the Archbishop of Dublin and his suffragans is undoubtedly true. But there is no sound reason for believing that he did not intend to confer the *ius ubique docendi* on the new University; and there was no need for him to define more accurately the authority which was ultimately to confer the *licentia docendi*. The best test of Rashdall's assertions is to compare this bull of Clement V with the bull which John XXII issued, just six years later, on behalf of the University of Cambridge.[32] Neither Rashdall nor any other scholar has doubted that John XXII intended to confer on Cambridge the full status of a *studium generale*, with all the usual papal privileges. There is, of course, this obvious difference between the two cases—that in Dublin Clement was erecting a new University, whilst in Cambridge John XXII was conferring a papal privilege on a *studium* which had been an active centre of studies for the past hundred years, though it seems to have lacked hitherto the full status of a *studium generale*. But, apart from certain differences of phraseology which arise naturally from this difference of fact, there is a very remarkable similarity in the official terms of the two bulls. I give here the essential clauses of each bull :—

" . . . apostolica auctoritate statuimus ut in eadem civitate Dublin., si id de suffragancorum ipsius archiepiscopi consilio et consensu processerit, sit scolarium universitas et in qualibet scientia et facultate licita de cetero studium generale, illudque perpetuis vigeat temporibus in eadem : in quo magistri docere ac scolares in eisdem facultatibus audire libere valeant et studere, et qui ad doctoratus honorem fuerint assumendi in qualibet facultatum ipsarum licentiam obtinere.—(Bull of Clement V, a. 1312).

[32] The full text of John XXII's bull is printed in Fuller's *History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. Prickett and Wright (Cambridge, 1840), p. 80; and in Dyer's *Privileges of the Univ. of Cambridge* (London, 1824), Vol. 1, pp. 60-61.

. . . . apostolica auctoritate statuimus ut in predicto loco Cantabrigie sit de cetero studium generale, illudque ibidem vigeat perpetuis futuris temporibus in qualibet facultate, volentes auctoritate predicta et etiam decernentes quod collegium magistrorum et scolarium eiusdem studii universitas sit censenda, et omnibus iuribus gaudeat quibus gaudere potest et debet universitas quecumque legitime ordinata. Ceterum omnia privilegia et indulta predicto studio rationabiliter a pontificibus et regibus predictis concessa auctoritate predicta confirmamus."—(Bull of John XXII, a. 1318).

As will be seen, neither of these two bulls makes express mention of the *ius ubique docendi*, which is plainly included in the usual privileges of a *studium generale* erected by papal authority; nor does the Pope think it necessary in either bull to determine more accurately the authority which will confer the *licentia docendi*. We may then assume that Clement V had the intention of erecting a full papal University in Dublin, subject to the approval of the Archbishop of Dublin and his suffragans. That last clause was to delay the actual erection of the new *studium generale* for another eight or nine years.

One last point may be made at this stage of our inquiry. The whole context of Pope Clement's bull makes it plain that he intended to erect a *studium generale* in Dublin, which should be a centre of higher studies for the whole of Ireland. We shall see that the formal opening of this new *studium* took place in 1320, within a few months of the final defeat and death of Edward Bruce, who had been threatening the city of Dublin and its neighbouring suburbs for the past two or three years. That fact alone would have made it difficult for the new *studium generale* to function in Dublin as a true centre of studies for the native Irish people. But, apart from this striking coincidence of dates, the whole trend of English government in Ireland at this time was such that a *studium* erected in Dublin, under the immediate jurisdiction of the English Archbishops of Dublin, was bound to be confined almost exclusively to the English settlers in Ireland. Clement V knew little of the local conditions which doomed his plan for an Irish University to failure from the start.

AUBREY GWYNN

THE PASSING OF AUSTRIA*

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

WHILST some of the publications at the foot of this page were in the hands of the printers, Austria as an independent state had already ceased to exist. The bitter struggle of twenty years was over, and Chancellor Schuschnigg might, for all he counted, have been lying with his great predecessors, Seipel and Dollfuss, among the dead. With dramatic suddenness listeners to the wireless on Friday 11th March were made aware of the swift flight of events. On the 12th, the Chancellor of the Third Reich entered Austria to the imposing accompaniment of an unprecedented military and police display. On the 13th he had taken possession of the beautiful capital of the Hapsburgs, the historic metropolis of "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." On the 10th April "The East Mark" was, by a practically 100% "Aryan" vote, incorporated into the National Socialist Reich. Europe has, despite the hopes of many good Austrians, not interfered to save the young state. It has accepted the inevitable logic of facts. Some countries may even have sighed with relief that the German-Austrian tension of the last five years was over. They are, no doubt, preparing now to face up to the new situation. The only visible reactions among non-German Powers are an increased tempo of rearmament and talks of defensive alliances for those countries in which German minorities are large and powerfully organised.

In Germany there is genuine popular rejoicing—and naturally so! "Little Germany," as the Federal Empire (set up by Bismarck under the headship of Prussia in 1871) was called by its critics, has become "Great Germany" by

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Oesterreich: Erbe und Sendung im deutschen Raum. Von Josef Nadler und Heinrich Ritter von Srbik. (Salzburg: Pustet. 1937. RM. 6. 90).

Autriche, Ma Patrie. Par Kurt von Schuschnigg. (Plon. 1938. 20 frs.).

Farewell Austria. By Kurt von Schuschnigg. (Cassell. 1938. 10s. 6d.).

Vienna. The Image of a Culture in Decline. By Edward Crankshaw. (Macmillan. 1938. 8s. 6d.).

The Mission of Austria. By Edward Quinn. (Sands. 1938. 5s.).

the annexation of the " hereditary lands " of the Hapsburgs. The South Eastern frontier has thereby been extended to include a six million group who are, with the exception of some small Slav minorities, wholly German. The new territory also brings advantages in raw materials and manufactured products to a state whose policy of self-sufficiency puts her in need of such. That is in the practical sphere. In the sphere of the traditional and the historical, a " family feud " has been ended ; Hohenzollern and Hapsburg are now no more ; their rivalries can safely be buried with them. The Third Reich has repaired the breaches of continuity made in 1806, when Emperor Francis surrendered the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire at the bidding of Napoleon ; in 1866, when Prussia in furtherance of her imperial designs made war on Austria and thrust the Hapsburgs out of the " German Confederation " ; and above all in 1918, when the efforts to link up Austria—now only the German fragment of a vanished Empire—with the Reich were frustrated by the Entente. The dictates of Versailles and St. Germain are finally and forever set at naught. It is of little consequence to the German people that the unity which has been achieved does not correspond to that which was the dream of the Romantics in 1813 or of the poets and professors in 1848 or even of the Pan-Germans in 1870 and 1919. History does *not* repeat itself—in spite of the proverb.

No doubt, twentieth century emergencies call for twentieth century dynamics. Dr. Goebbels, as Minister for Propaganda, has been guiding the minds of greater Germany for weeks past into traditional and historical channels. His newspapers show the German Chancellor not now as the author of a Revolution, but as the heir of the ages, one of the many seers but the only realizer of the vision of a united Greater Germany, a vision that haunted the poets and heroes of the past. Dr. Goebbels is now able to legitimise the annexation of Austria : he has been fortunate enough to procure for his historical press campaign the services, among others, of the Austrian Professor Dr. Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, whose School of History in the University of Vienna is so deservedly well known.

Dr. von Srbik was a "Pan-German" and is now a member of the Reichstag elected on April 10th. His weighty and discriminating contribution to the volume *Oesterreich* is entitled: "Austria in the Holy Roman Empire and in the Germanic Confederation 1521/22—1866." Dr. von Srbik and Professor Nadler (whose book *Die Literatur der deutschen Stämme*, linking up literature with race groups, opened up a new line of approach to the study of literary history long before the National Socialist Movement was heard of) have combined with colleagues to produce a book which is meant to throw a strong light on the German character of Austria in its historical development and in its institutions, its literature, art and music. This would be interesting and valuable if there had never been a question of *Anschluss* between Austria and the Third Reich. It now has another—a topical interest. Apart from the two editors, with whose works outside of this book I am familiar, I know little of the contributors. But it will interest readers to note that one of them was a member of Dr. von Schuschnigg's Cabinet—Edmund van Glaise Horstenau, a native of Branuau and an ex-Colonel of the Austro-Hungarian army. He played a prominent part in the forging of the 1936 agreement between Dr. von Schuschnigg and the German Reich. He then became the first Nazi representative in the Austrian Cabinet, in which he remained on the fateful Friday, March 11th, when it was re-constituted by Dr. von Seyss-Inquart. He had earlier been a Monarchist and a militant Catholic. In the Cabinet between 1936-1938 he is said to have "discharged his duties with manifest restraint."

The preface to this book tells of the intentions of the editors. They regard it as their duty, as teachers and experts, to give the German world a picture of Austria as an historical phenomenon—the picture being guaranteed true in the judgment and the knowledge of these experts as well as in the genuine presentation of facts and fair in that it is set in a sphere removed from the clash of opinions of the day. They claim that it constitutes an outline of a German people which, in all its relations with other countries, was conscious of its membership of the German Race. They say that the

book is not written " for the passing day," but they hope " to be heard " above and before all when the time comes to justify " the present by the past." They emphasise that the subtitle. " Heritage and Mission in the German World," implies not only rights but also obligations.

Now this is a very striking preface and, if it means anything, means not only that the authors one and all sought for the union of Austria with the great body of the German people, but that they intended their book to be a signpost to guide those young present-day thinkers who were not sure where their allegiance lay—who knew their *rights* but were not conscious of their *obligations* as Germans. One has the conviction when reading it that they felt the day of decision was not far off. As for the phrase " to justify the present by the past," that is the task upon which Dr. Goebbels's Press has been engaged since the *Anschluss*. The contributions are on a high plane. There is no polemic. Indeed only two of the essays come down to 1918; the nineteenth century is the limit elsewhere. There is no ideology, racial or otherwise. There are no hatreds. There is warm appreciation of many Hapsburgs, especially of Maria Teresa over against Frederick the Great. There is a recognition of Austria—the Domus Austriae, the Dynasty—as distinct from " The Holy Roman Empire " in the period after the Thirty Years War, as there is also of the Universal Christian Catholic Ideal still abiding in the Hapsburg monarchy after the " Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation " had gone. But nowhere is there a suggestion that there are any specifically Austrian values, for the preservation of which the form of a separate state was required. Rather did I get the impression that much that was imposing and splendid—in the great Baroque age, for example—had an exotic character and was linked with the dynasty rather than with the people; the expression of whose soul would be Gothic rather than anything else. A conclusion which I drew from these essays is that it was the dynasties and dynastic interests that kept the German race-groups from coalescing in 1848, when there was an attempt to create a " Reich deutscher Nation," and that similar interests

operated in 1866 and 1871 when "Little Germany" was fashioned.

The inference drawn by National Socialists would be that, now that the dynasties are no more and that race communities are a commandment of the religion of blood, the duty of a German race-group is to return to the fold and be incorporated in the National State. Where such a race group has, by the break-up of its anachronistic framework, become independent, it commits a sin against the natural law in remaining outside the community. Outsiders who force it to do so by treaty dictates or otherwise are to be disregarded. Members of the group who stand between it and its ordained fusion are traitors and must be punished as such. I believe that this is a fair statement of the National Socialist political philosophy. It explains not only the proposal to put Dr. Schuschnigg on trial but also the relentless pursuit of Archduke Otto of Hapsburg and the orders issued to the municipalities to wipe his name for ever off the rolls of their Freemen. It explains too the attitude to the murder of Dollfuss and the steps taken to obliterate his name from the walls and squares of the Austrian capital.

That Blood and Race constitute a National Socialist religion, there can be hardly any doubt. That this religion has its implacable laws, transcending not only the sanctions of states but private sanctities, is clear. It might well be a reason why neither Dr. Dollfuss nor Dr. von Schuschnigg could view the idea of an *Anschluss* in their time with equanimity. They may have been monarchists. Dr. Dollfuss came from a class and a province that shed much blood rather than be transferred in the Napoleonic period from the Hapsburgs to the Wittelsbachs; and Dr. von Schuschnigg, an officer's son, was a gallant soldier in the Austro-Hungarian army. It was hardly the monarchic principle that stood between these men and the *Anschluss*, for legitimist groups in Austria often reproached them for not establishing a monarchy when they abandoned the Parliamentary system. Their Catholic training and habits of mind would bring them into strong opposition to the idea of a Totalitarian state, especially of one enforcing a philosophy at

variance with the Christian spirit. In the French and English translations of the title *Dreimal Oesterreich* of the late Chancellor's book we get in *Autriche, Ma Patrie* the expression of a primary loyalty—the Chancellor is Austrian first, German only second. In *Farewell Austria* we get the idea of something irrevocably gone. Though neither of these titles is a translation of the German, they give us Dr. Schuschnigg's mind.

For him the Austria of the Holy Roman Empire was dead —all that remained being the "relics," the Coronation regalia in the jewel-room of the Hofburg in Vienna. That Empire was dead long before Napoleon buried it away in 1806. The living Austria which Kurt von Schuschnigg experienced had three phases: the Dual Monarchy of his youth, which went down in blood and tears in 1918; the Republic of Austria, 1918-1932; and Austria the Christian Corporate State, 1932—1938, to the development and completion of which the late Chancellor devoted the years that elapsed between the murder of its founder in July 1934 and his own enforced resignation on the 11th March last. *Farewell Austria* is the record of the achievements of this third Austria as well as a history of the confused and chaotic struggles out of which it grew. It is also a testimony to Monsignor Seipel, who died in 1932, and to Dollfuss, whose designated successor Schuschnigg was and whose spiritual heir he has ever since felt himself to be. But it is also his personal confession of faith in the Austrian idea and his justification of the incorporation of that idea in a separate state.

Austria is for him an independent nation—"without equivocation, without compromise, unconditionally." What was that nation's mission, as Dr. Von Schuschnigg conceived it? It was nothing more nor less than the revival of the spiritual idea of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Austria, precisely because she was now far removed from the domain of imperialistic ambitions, could be the medium for preserving and disseminating amongst the surrounding peoples her great German Christian Culture. She should be circumference and centre. Her windows should be open to all points of the compass. Confined in her frontiers,

she should be world-wide in her ideas. Poor in material things, she would be rich in spiritual values. It sounds like a Celtic-Oriental vision, this " re-moulding nearer to the heart's desire." There might well be Celtic echoes in the soul of this ex-leader of a country whose dim pre-Roman origins were Celtic, in whose campaigns against the Turk Irishmen, officers in the great Imperial Army, took part and whose capital still bears living witness to the art and learning of the " Scoti." This dreamer could be practical, however; and, anticipating objections on the score of size and material resources, he could instance, in support of the practicability of his scheme, Teutonic race-groupings such as Switzerland, Holland and the Scandinavian peninsula.

But the times were against both Dollfuss and Schuschnigg; and, whatever chance the first founder of the Austrian Christian Corporate State might have had if he had been spared, it is doubtful whether a man of Schuschnigg's temperament could ever have made headway against the unceasing National Socialist urge without and within his boundaries. His photographs give the impression of a thinking man of sensitive mood—a reserved, aristocratic type, unswervingly loyal to his convictions but with energies static rather than dynamic, a stayer but hardly a fighter—or if so, then one that would be scrupulous in the choice of weapons. Critics among his supporters believed that he was not a good judge of character, and that he was constantly betrayed by those whom he thought loyal. The same witnesses of recent Austrian happenings assert that the rents and fissures in the edifice that he was so painstakingly erecting were only too apparent on the day of the débâcle. Be all that as it may, the times were against him.

Against him, too, were the circumstances of the people for whom he was called upon to provide. Never Spartans, they had been through untold suffering and privation during and after the world war. They had been part of a great Empire; their capital city was conceived on imperial lines; it presupposed and required a background of wealth and power. They had been the ruling race; now they were not only exposed

to all the petty pricks of those whose " superiors " they had once been, but they were physically cramped—no hinterland, no outlet to the sea. The party system had gone, but the parties still remained. Justified as the prevention of the *Anschluss* was in the immediate post-war years, under the fear of forming a Socialist block with the early Weimar Republic, the *Anschluss* with the Germany after 1933 (a " popular " movement of tremendous dynamic force) took on another appearance. Linked up with the old pro-Bismarck enthusiasm, it was the call of the blood. On the *mass* of Austrians abstract ideas do not exercise such influence as on their kinsmen over the border; that may be a consequence of their Catholicism. They therefore might, even though naively, have discounted the reality of the new German ideology and seen only Herr Hitler's undoubted national and social achievements. The unparallelled efficiency of Nazi propaganda never allowed them to forget these. The elimination of the Jew may have recommended itself to some elements of the population. I have heard that, since the *Anschluss*, 75% of Vienna's municipal officers have been cleared out as Jews and that there will now be room and chance of promotion for the Austrian ! The statement came from a Viennese source. It is not propaganda and was supplemented by the remark : " Now we shall be a great country again and we shall have a sea." Lastly, we must not forget to emphasise this fact : the Austrian Corporate State had one overwhelming disadvantage —it was dependent upon the backing of ancient enemies, notably Italy. The forces that moved to the support of Schuschnigg after Dollfuss fell were, after all, the same that were keeping South Tyrol in subjection.

Kurt von Schuschnigg has left the Austrian " scene," though he refused to leave Austria. I do not know if he has any personal regrets beyond those that he feels for the eclipse of an idea. He had—looking back upon it now—an impossible struggle, and he may well have longed to give it up, if in the words of his preface " the exigencies of the hour had not triumphed over disappointments, trials and weariness of spirit," compelling him to continue his service in support of " a culture which is a perfect union of classic-humanistic, National-German and Christian-Occidental elements."

Will this culture die with the incorporation of Austria into the National Socialist State? Fr. Quinn, author of *The Mission of Austria* (a summary of the events and personalities of the last twenty years and a study of the Christian Corporate State), does not think so, mainly because he believes in the indestructibility of the spirit and in the enduring force of a gallant effort. I cannot forbear asking myself whether Cardinal Innitzer has hopes of a synthesis. Does he envisage the possibility of a National Socialism freed from its non-Christian ideology and harnessing its great energies to the task of European solidarity in the Christian spirit? Herr Hitler is also an Austrian! If such an eventuality were possible, then Mr. Crankshaw would have to write us another book; *Vienna, the Image of a Culture in Decline* would then be but the record of a passing weariness in that city, only some of the atmosphere of which he has succeeded in evoking. I imagine Mr. Crankshaw is young—I hope he is. He can yet learn. He has a fascinating style and he has the power of artistic presentation. I enjoyed his book, in spite of the fact that many things in it irritated me. How can a man of such delicate sensibilities merely think "red" over against an institution like the Catholic Church. He cannot record his impressions of the trumpeter's lovely music on Xmas Eve from the tower of the Stefansdom without hastening to add his views on the blindness and superstition of the days when it was designed and built. When he concludes with an expression of sympathy for "the poor half-starved souls who are now slightly more enlightened," he is nearer than I am sure he thinks he is to his own "pink" British subaltern in the Indian army. His book is smug. He ought to go to school again and learn something of Hapsburg Imperial History. He would then not register his cheap verdicts, and he might acquire respect for the Faith that formed the lives of great men like Dr. Karl Lueger, Burgomaster of Vienna, and Dr. Ignaz Seipel, patriot Chancellor of the years 1922-1932.

I do not know Vienna well. I wish I did. Vienna is much criticised. It is ancient; it is aristocratic; it can smile at the critics. I only know that I love it. When I was there for a few

short weeks in 1924 and again in 1934, I made contacts that I shall never forget—Cardinal Piffl, the greater part of whose mediaeval castle near Semmering was given over by him as a rest home for poverty-stricken Viennese workers ; Dr. Richard Kralik, of whose monumental *Wien* (Vienna) I hope to write on another occasion ; Dr. Hildegard Burian, first woman member of the Federal Diet, foundress of the Catholic Caritas organisation which has ramifications all over Vienna, friend of Seipel and Dollfuss, whose bodies lie now in the crypt of the Welfare Centre chapel which she built. With her daughter and Fraulein Domaing, her successor, I visited in September 1934 the temporary burial place of Engelbert Dollfuss in Hietzing. Around the lamp-lit, cypress-lined enclosure stood a group of Tyrolese ex-service men and their wives. They had come up to Vienna for National Memorial Day. The women were crying silently. One of the men stepped forward and, with his gay mountaineer's hat clutched tightly to his breast, he said in a voice charged with feeling : " We Tyrolese are no speechmakers. But we cannot leave this grave without lifting our hands to swear eternal fidelity to our beloved Chancellor and friend." The new régime may efface his name from streets and squares. They will not succeed in effacing it from the memory of his people.

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GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK*

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CHIANG KAI-SHEK was born in 1887 at Chikow, a small inland town situated about 150 miles south of Shanghai. His father was a farmer, and at the same time a scholar—a fact which gained for him a certain standing among his fellow-townsmen. In addition, his reputation for justice and integrity was of such a high order that he was frequently asked to settle local disputes which would otherwise have gone to the corrupt imperial law-courts—and ended probably in the financial ruin of all parties involved. Chiang's mother was also a remarkable woman. By religion she was a devout Buddhist, daily offering religious worship and constant in the practice of the Buddhistic virtues—prominent among which was vegetarianism.

As a child Chiang was delicate and sickly, and on more than one occasion his life was despaired of; but if weak of body, he was strong of mind, as we shall see in the course of this article. Having lost his father at the age of nine, his mother saw to the development of his mind and the formation of his character. In spite of her intense affection for her son—or, perhaps, on account of it—she did not believe in sparing the rod. When he returned from school, she would question him on the lessons he had learnt that day; and having satisfied herself on this point she would then direct him to cook the rice, wash the dishes and sweep the floor. "If I carelessly dropped a few grains of rice or failed to fasten my clothing properly, I was severely taken to task"— declared Chiang in later life, when he was not ashamed to hold up the example of his mother as a model for all Chinese mothers to imitate.

* *Chiang Kai-shek, Soldier and Statesman.* By Hollington K. Tong. London: Hurst and Blackett. Two vols. 1938. 30s. This article is much indebted to Mr. Tong's detailed and extremely valuable biography of the Generalissimo. It is the fullest and most authoritative work on the subject.

Thus equipped with the all-important asset of a good home-training, the time ultimately arrived for Chiang to choose a career. He decided to become an officer in the army, and although his family had fallen into poor circumstances, his mother by dint of toil and sacrifice contrived to pay the expenses of his education. He accordingly entered the Paoting Military Academy in 1906, and in the following year went to Japan to continue his studies. As a student he was hardworking rather than brilliant, and his aversion to wasting time caused a certain aloofness of manner which seems to have been misunderstood by some of his contemporaries. In spite however of his application to study, Chiang believed in the principle, *Mens sana in corpore sano.* He took up athletics and attained to a certain degree of proficiency in them, running into third place at an inter-collegiate sports meeting at Ningpo.

At first sight Chiang's choice of career may seem strange in view of the traditional contempt for the military profession in China. But at the beginning of the present century Western ideas had already penetrated into the Celestial Empire; and, besides that, the shameless encroachments by foreign powers on China's sovereignty had deeply stirred the indignation of the educated classes. Thus Chiang, with all the idealism and generosity of youth, resolved to devote his life to the liberation of his country from the humiliating condition into which it had fallen.

During his stay in Japan, Chiang joined the Chinese Revolutionary Society (the Tungmenghui) founded at Tokyo in 1905 by Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the present Chinese Republic. The object of this Society was to overthrow the corrupt and inefficient Manchu government as a necessary preliminary to national reform and rehabilitation. A number of these revolutionaries were organising secret societies and patriotic groups in different parts of China, and as the nation was already disgusted with the tyranny and corruption of the imperial government officials, the movement spread rapidly. Concealed arms factories and large ammunition dumps began to spring up in several big centres of population. It was an accidental explosion at one of these factories near Hankow

in the year 1911 which suddenly precipitated the revolution, and in a short time the whole of the Yangtze was ablaze.

When this news reached Japan, the revolutionaries there immediately hastened to China to join in the struggle. Chiang landed at Shanghai and was put in charge of a " dare-to-die " brigade of 100 men, whose task it was to capture the large city of Hangchow. On this occasion Chiang proved himself to be a man of extraordinary physical courage. For although the imperial forces holding the town were far superior to the " dare-to-dies " both in equipment and numbers, they were attacked with such courage and determination that they fled in disorder, thus leaving the whole city in Chiang's hands. About the same time Shanghai, Nanking and other cities were also captured by the insurgents, and on New Year's Day 1912 Sun Yat-sen was installed at Nanking as Provisional President of the New Chinese Republic, while the Revolutionary Society (the Tungmenghui) changed its name to the People's Party (the Kuomintang).

Soon afterwards, on February 12, 1912, the Emperor abdicated. Before taking this decision, he left the army and navy in the charge of Yuan Shih-kai, a former Minister of the Imperial Court and known to foreigners as " The Strong Man of China." Yuan was not averse to a Republican form of government, and on this account and to avert further bloodshed he opened negotiations with Sun Yat-sen. The result of these negotiations was that Sun agreed to resign from office and allow Yuan to become President of the Republic. This move, however, proved most unfortunate ; for Yuan, brought up according to the traditions of the corrupt Imperial Court, placed his own personal interests before those of the nation. In order to consolidate his position, he immediately proceeded to purge the government of all revolutionary leaders. Mysterious assassinations began to take place, so that Sun and his followers (including Chiang) were forced to seek refuge in Japan. From here they denounced Yuan as a traitor, and proceeded to organise a number of revolts against his government, but were unable to achieve any permanent success.

In 1916 Yuan died, and a period of chaos set in. The Presidency of the Republic changed hands rapidly as one militarist "liquidated" another; consequently the power of the Central Government declined, with the result that the military governors of the different provinces took the opportunity to set themselves up as independent warlords. During this period of national disintegration Canton proved favourable to the Founder of the Republic; and when he landed in the city in 1917, he was well received and within a short time appointed Generalissimo. But as none of the other provinces recognised the Kwantung Government, the title was but an empty one. Besides, even Canton was divided against itself—so much so that in 1920 Chiang, who had been given a command in the army, was forced to resign. Two years later the military clique, which had driven out Chiang, decided to get rid of Sun himself. His headquarters were suddenly bombarded, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he escaped with his life to a friendly gunboat. When Chiang heard this bad news, he immediately hastened from Shanghai to Canton, and boarding the gunboat at great personal risk he rejoined his leader.

For two months Chiang remained concealed with Sun in the cramped quarters of this small war-vessel, living under very miserable conditions. Provisions were scarce, the water supply was scanty, and the tropical summer heat greatly added to their difficulties. But Chiang was always at his leader's side ready to offer encouragement and assistance, at times washing the decks like an ordinary sailor and under the cover of darkness going ashore at the risk of his life to obtain food and other necessaries for Dr. Sun. It was these months spent on the gunboat in the summer of 1922 which proved to be the turning-point in Chiang's career. Up to this he had played a more or less obscure part in the national movement; but now Dr. Sun had come to appreciate his sincerity and self-sacrifice, and when the opportunity occurred he entrusted his well-tested subordinate with a position of primary importance.

After two months of inaction, Sun and Chiang escaped to

Shanghai. Here Sun came into contact with the Soviet representative, Joffe, who informed him that Russia was willing to accord military aid to China in their "common struggle against the imperialist powers." Sun willingly accepted this timely offer of assistance, but at the same time he stipulated that the Soviet system of government should not be introduced into China. Chiang was then sent as Sun's representative to Moscow, where he was well received by Trotsky and other Russian leaders. After four months, having fulfilled his mission, he returned again to China.

In the meantime the militarists who had expelled Sun from Canton had fallen into disfavour and were forced to seek safety in flight. The national leader then returned once more to the city, where he was soon rejoined by Chiang. Before the end of the same year, 1923, Borodin the Soviet emissary also arrived in Canton, and with him a number of military experts and advisers including Galens (*alias* General Blücher) who was later to become Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Far Eastern Army.

In the following year, 1924, the Whampoa Military Academy was opened with 500 cadets, Chiang Kai-shek being put in charge. The object of this Academy was to train officers and men for the National Army, which was to fight for the unification of the country against the numerous warlords who had established themselves in the different provinces. Chiang in his new office was extremely popular with his students in spite of the fact that he was a severe disciplinarian. He rose regularly at 5 a.m. and saw to it himself that all regulations were scrupulously observed by those under his care. In his lectures to his students he constantly put before them the ideal of a strong and united China, and by word and example he inculcated the necessity of rigorous training and self-discipline as a means to realising this objective.

In 1925 Sun Yat-sen died. He left behind him a number of outstanding lieutenants, but he did not nominate any particular one of them as his successor. Actually it happened that the two men who were to play the most prominent part in the subsequent history of the Republic were Chiang Kai-shek

and Wang Ching-wei. The latter was the leader of the Left Wing in the Kuomintang, which at the time of Sun's death favoured the adoption of a communist form of government for China. Chiang on the other hand, who represented the moderate elements in the Party, was resolutely opposed to Communism in any shape or form. He realised that the communist utopia was an illusion and that communist methods led infallibly to strife and disunion. Accordingly when forming the First Army Corps, which he personally commanded, he took good care to select as his officers men who were completely free from the Red taint and who could therefore be relied on to deal firmly with any communist disturbances which might arise.

In 1926 Wang Ching-wei became Chairman of the People's Party, the majority of which now showed distinctly communistic tendencies. Two attempts were made to assassinate Chiang, who was known to be the principal opponent of the Reds. But Chiang was on the alert, and bided his time before taking any action. He let this hostility develop, till the moment when the extremists were on the verge of open warfare against him. He then acted swiftly and decisively. He sent his own picked troops to surround the Soviet Headquarters. At the same time all Russian instructors and advisers were rounded up and placed under detention. Troops and officers with Soviet sympathies were simultaneously disarmed. This general clean-up went on for three days and was of a very thorough nature. When Chiang had finished the work to his own satisfaction, he put his point of view before the Political Council of the Kuomintang and actually succeeded in winning its approval. But, alas! Russian funds and munitions were necessary for the military expedition against the Northern war-lords, and so Chiang was forced to release the imprisoned Reds and enter into a temporary compromise with the Soviet representatives in the city.

Munitions and funds being thus acquired, all was now ready for the long delayed expedition. Chiang was of course appointed to the post of Commander-in-Chief, and accordingly set out from Canton with his army in the year 1926. At that

time, among the many war-lords to be overcome, the most powerful was Wu Pei-fu. This man, who had ultimately succeeded Yuan Shih-kai as President of the Central Government, now ruled five provinces. He also enjoyed the support of the different foreign nations who had trade interests in China and who relied on him to enforce law and order. Besides Wu, there were a number of other powerful tuchuns in Northern China, among whom the best known is perhaps Feng Yu-hsiang, "The Christian General," who at this time held Peking.

In accordance with the sound military principle, *Divide et impera*, Chiang decided to engage these adversaries singly rather than collectively—beginning with Wu. In this campaign he shrewdly guessed that the other warlords, already jealous of Wu's superiority, would not interfere with him. And so it happened. Wu was engaged singly, and although his forces were vastly superior to Chiang's both in number and equipment, they were repeatedly defeated and finally demoralised. A similar fate then befell the armies of the Kiangsi warlord, Sun Chuan-fang, with the result that in less than nine months the Nationalist armies had already taken Nanking, Shanghai, Hankow, and several other important cities. The 700 mile journey of Chiang's expeditionary force from Canton to Nanking and the manner in which it won victory after victory against almost overwhelming odds is almost on a par with the famous expeditions of Hannibal, Caesar and the other great military leaders of the past.

In the spring of 1927 the Sixth Army Corps captured Nanking. These troops however had unfortunately been infected by communist propaganda, and on arriving in the city they perpetrated a number of outrages against foreigners living there. On hearing of these atrocities, Chiang forthwith dispatched his own picked troops to punish the offenders. A large number of the Sixth Army Corps were consequently executed. The remainder afterwards fled to Hankow, where other pro-communist troops had previously arrived and had already set up a reign of terror. The Left Wing of the People's Party had also arrived in this city, where they held sessions

under the leadership of Wang Ching-wei. In these meetings Chiang was denounced as a traitor to the Kuomintang and the nation, and his resignation was demanded. The Commander-in-chief however clearly recognised the source of these unfounded charges against him, and without more ado he sent an ultimatum to Hankow demanding the expulsion of Borodin and the other Russian advisers. At the same time he appealed to the moderate elements in the city to join forces with him in his fight for national unification and reconstruction. Many of the Leftists in the People's Party were by this time becoming disgusted with the excesses of their communist allies, and after lengthy discussions it was ultimately decided to get rid of the Russian advisers and experts, who were the chief cause of all the recent disorder and disunion in the Kuomintang. Thus, in the summer of 1927, Borodin and his associates were expelled from Hankow, and soon afterwards returned to Russia. Even still however, in spite of all Chiang's efforts, Wang and his friends refused to be reconciled with him. The split in the People's Party remained. Personal animosity against Chiang, probably the outcome of jealousy, was clearly the cause of disunion. Recognising this fact and generously putting the interests of the nation before his own personal advantage, Chiang resigned all public offices in the autumn of 1927 and retired into private life.

It was during this period of retirement that he married Miss Mayling Soong. This lady came from a very distinguished Chinese family. Her father, Charles Soong, had studied in the United States, where he ultimately became a protestant minister. His wife was also a Christian and there were six children in the family. The eldest of his three daughters married H. H. Kung, who became Acting President of the Republic when Chiang was kidnapped; his second daughter was the wife of Sun Yat-sen, the Founder of the Republic; and the youngest is now Madame Chiang. Of the three sons, the eldest is T. V. Soong, for many years China's Minister of Finance; the other two are prominent Shanghai bankers. Madame Chiang, herself a sincere Christian, succeeded in converting her husband from paganism to Christianity, and

in the year 1930 Chiang was baptised at Shanghai—not a Catholic unfortunately, but a Methodist.

During Chiang's retirement from public life, things went from bad to worse with the Republic. There were divisions within and without the ranks of the Government, the most serious trouble being a communist revolt in the South. In this state of national emergency, the Government decided to recall Chiang, and accordingly before the close of 1927 he again took up the duties of Commander-in-chief.

On Chiang's return to power, one of his first acts was to sever diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. Being more than ever convinced that Soviet intrigues were the chief cause of the continual divisions in the People's Party, Chiang now decreed that all Soviet consulates and commercial agencies in Nationalist territory should be closed within a week. In addition there was to be a general round-up of all prominent Communists. Having thus checked Soviet activities at least temporarily, Chiang immediately turned his thoughts to the continuation of his expedition against the Northern warlords. With this objective in view he collected together four Army Corps and proceeded northwards to attack Peking, which at the time happened to be under the control of Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian tuchun. In this campaign Feng, the Christian General, sided with Chiang, and little difficulty was experienced in defeating Chang Tso-lin, who ultimately retreated to Manchuria, where the train in which he was travelling was blown up. His son Chang Shueh-liang, " The Young Marshal " (who later kidnapped the Generalissimo), succeeded him as Manchurian Warlord, and shortly afterwards decided to throw in his lot with the National Government. On Chiang's return to Nanking, after this successful expedition, he was elevated to the rank of Generalissimo.

The following year, 1929, opened with a separatist movement launched by the Kwangsi group of militarists. Although at one time these rebels had almost captured Canton, yet before many months had elapsed the Cantonese under Chen Chi-tang with Chiang's help succeeded in completely crushing them. In the same year, Feng, the Christian General,

declared his independence of Nanking. Chiang tried to win him over by negotiation, but Feng remained obdurate, collected a large army and proceeded south with the intention of capturing Hankow. Chiang's troops however soon put an end to his hopes. Two other warlords were also suppressed about the same time—namely, Tang Sheng-chih in Honan and Chang Fa-kuei, the leader of the Chinese "Ironsides," in South China. Thus, in the year 1929 alone, four major wars were fought and won by the Generalissimo.

But the warlord problem was by no means finished with. For owing to the exigencies of Chinese politeness even defeated warlords must have their faces "saved." This face-saving was usually effected by sending the vanquished leaders abroad "to study economics" or for some other equally harmless purpose. One disadvantage of this system was that these "economists" were always available for the purpose of joining in any anti-government rumpus which might arise. And this is what happened in the year 1930. By this time, as a result of Chiang's activities, there were several dispossessed militarists on the list of the unemployed. These now, banded together, collected the remnants of their armies in different parts of China with the object of simultaneously attacking and overthrowing Chiang. As a preliminary, fifty of these militarists published a manifesto to the nation comparing the Generalissimo to the most tyrannical of China's ancient Emperors—and then the war was on. This campaign proved to be one of the most sanguinary so far fought. During the six months it lasted the casualties amounted to roughly a quarter of a million, and a large part of the country was reduced to desolation. Chiang again emerged successfully from the conflict, sincerely hoping that by this time a sufficient price had been paid for national unity. But these hopes were destined to a speedy disappointment, for in the spring of the following year (1931) two large provinces in South China, Kwangtung and Kwangsi, broke away from the Central Government. But the Generalissimo was unable for the time being to deal effectively with this new problem, for there were more urgent matters elsewhere calling for his attention.

In the autumn of 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria. Chiang, who had been steadily building up the national defence forces on modern lines, knew that China was as yet no match for Japan in the field. He accordingly resisted all efforts to force him into such an unequal conflict, which would certainly have ended in the complete destruction of all the work he had so far accomplished. The local Manchurian troops, left to their own devices, put up a very weak resistance, with the result that Manchuria was speedily annexed by Japan.

The loss of Manchuria raised a storm of indignation all over China. War with Japan was loudly demanded, especially by the hot-headed students of Canton, who happened to be over 1,000 miles from the danger zone and were completely incapable of understanding the Generalissimo's point of view. Chiang was denounced as pro-Japanese and a national traitor. His resignation was demanded, and for this and other reasons he resigned from the office of Generalissimo in December 1931. During this second period of retirement occurred the Japanese attack on Shanghai in 1932. The communist armies in Kiangsi also became a national menace. The Central Government soon found itself unable to deal with the situation, so Chiang was again recalled and reinstated as Generalissimo.

On resuming office, Chiang continued his work of strengthening the National Army and acquiring for it the most modern equipment—aeroplanes, tanks and heavy artillery. His maxim was : " If we perspire more in time of peace, we shall bleed less in time of war." Before long he felt strong enough to undertake the destruction of the various Soviet armies which, with Russian aid, still held sway in the more inaccessible parts of the country. His first objective was the province of Kiangsi, where a powerful communist administration had already existed for several years. Previous expeditions against these Reds had failed, but in 1934 Chiang's troops completely routed them, driving them from one province to another till finally they established themselves in the mountainous district of Northern Shensi (where two years later they were remotely responsible for the kidnapping of the Generalissimo). While pursuing these Red armies, the Nanking

Government took the opportunity of binding more closely to itself the provinces through which its forces passed, and in this way the work of national unification was advanced simultaneously with the expulsion of the Reds.

During these years spent in crushing Communism, Chiang had also to deal with a number of revolts by the almost insuppressible warlords, among whose names we again find Feng, the Christian General. But, at last, by the beginning of 1936 the effective unification of China was almost complete. Of the 18 provinces only two now refused to submit to the Central Government—namely, Kwangtung and Kwangsi, both in South China. Feeling that their turn was next and believing that attack is the best defence, these two provinces joined forces and began to march northwards—in the direction of Nanking. The alleged motive of this expedition was to attack Japan and to win back the lost provinces. But before they had proceeded very far, they were opposed by the armies of the Generalissimo, and after some hesitation they decided to return home again. Chiang, however, resolved not to let this opportunity go. He pursued the retreating Cantonese army; whereupon the Cantonese General Yu Han-mou (secretly a friend of Chiang's) deserted to the Generalissimo. Shortly afterwards the Cantonese Air Force flew over to the side of the Central Government, while the local warlord, Chen Chi-tang, retired to Hong Kong *en route* for Europe.

Thus was this powerful province brought once again under the control of the Central Government. No time was lost in completely reorganising the Kwangtung administration, while at the same time dependable Nanking officers were put in charge of the local troops. Attention was then turned to the neighbouring province of Kwangsi, which now alone remained independent. Its rulers, Pai Chung-hsi and Li Tsung-jen, at first refused to yield to either promises or threats, and for a time war seemed imminent; but in the end a compromise was agreed to, Pai and Li submitting to Chiang on the condition that they still remained in charge of the province. Their loyalty to Nanking was considered by many to be most dubious; but when the present Sino-Japanese war broke out,

Pai immediately placed 400,000 of his best troops at Chiang's disposal, while Li has also proved his loyalty by his recent heroic defence of the Lunghai Railway. Thus, exactly ten years after his departure from Canton at the head of the Nationalist Armies, Chiang had successfully achieved the work of national unification. A month or two later he celebrated his fiftieth birthday; and on this occasion, in recognition for his many services to the nation, the different cities vied with each other in presenting him with warplanes—Nanking heading the list with seventeen. Chiang had at last won the confidence and affection of his people.

And yet before the end of the same year (1936) occurred the extraordinary incident of the kidnapping of the Generalissimo. This was effected by the Young Marshal, Chang Shueh-liang, who at that time was in charge of the Nanking anti-communist forces in the province of Shensi. These forces had unfortunately become infected by communist propaganda, and instead of fighting the Reds they began to fraternise with them. A mutiny seemed imminent, and in order to straighten out matters Chiang decided to go personally to Sian, the capital of Shensi, and address the officers and men concerned. While engaged on this work, the Generalissimo was suddenly taken prisoner by the Young Marshal. The apparent motive of this rash act was to force Chiang to join with the Reds, attack Japan, and win back Manchuria. But the Generalissimo refused even to listen to this proposition and vigorously denounced his captor as a rebel. This resolute and dignified attitude speedily brought the Young Marshal to his right senses, and returning to the Generalissimo a few days later he humbly admitted his fault.

Chiang's captivity lasted fourteen days. During that time Nanking sent a punitive expedition to Sian to punish the Young Marshal and his mutinous troops, but through fears for the Generalissimo's safety the city was not bombarded. Finally Madame Chiang herself arrived by plane in the middle of the enemy camp, interviewed the Young Marshal, and made arrangements for her husband's release. Captive, captor and Madame then flew back to Nanking, arriving there amid nation-wide rejoicings.

On his arrival at the capital the Young Marshal made the following famous apology to the Generalissimo: "I am by nature rustic, surly and unpolished, due to which I have created an incident, which is at once impudent and law-breaking. I have committed a great crime. I have now shamefacedly followed you to Nanking in order sincerely to await my punishment by you . . . Whatever is beneficial to our country, I shall never decline, even if it means death." The Generalissimo in reply generously forgave the injury done to him, and then in accordance with the best traditions of Chinese politeness proceeded to take the whole blame for the matter on himself and to offer his resignation.

The Generalissimo's resignation was unanimously rejected by the Central Executive Committee, which then set up a special Military Tribunal to deal with the crime of the Young Marshal. No defence was made, and the culprit was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment as well as deprivation of civil rights for five years. But Chiang's forgiveness of his captor was not half-hearted. He immediately urged that clemency be shown, with the result that the sentence of imprisonment was cancelled. Six weeks later he also succeeded in bringing about the official restoration of civil rights to his former jailer.

The kidnapping of the Generalissimo in no way diminished his prestige. On the contrary, the widespread demonstrations of sympathy and loyalty which it evoked had the good effect of greatly strengthening the bonds which already united the various provinces with the Central Government. Thus, at the beginning of 1937, Chiang found himself at the head of a united and loyal nation, while the nation itself enjoyed a better government than it had experienced for centuries. For not alone had Chiang delivered the country from the terrors of Communism and a veritable plague of brigands, pirates and warlords, he had at the same time done much to eliminate the traditional corruption and inefficiency of public officials. It was for this purpose as well as to improve the condition of the common people that Chiang in 1934 had founded the New Life Movement. This Movement aimed at infusing a new spirit into the nation by making an appeal to the moral

sense of the multitude. Mere compulsion, Chiang fully realised, is not sufficient to make good citizens, for had not Confucius declared: "People who are kept in order by punishments may avoid infraction of the law, but they lose their moral sense." The New Life Movement accordingly concentrated on an appeal to the moral sense of the people. This appeal was crystallised into a code of principles and regulations forming a kind of modernised version of the teachings of Confucius.

The New Life Movement aimed at converting the Chinese nation as speedily as possible into a virtuous and progressive people. But it is not easy to arouse a population as large as that of Europe from century-old habits of oriental fatalism and laissez-aller to a spirit of occidental progress and self-betterment. Chiang however was not deterred by the magnitude of this undertaking. Though the maxim of the masses, as he himself informs us, was "Be idle and satisfied," his own principle of conduct was in accordance with the teaching of the Chinese sage: "When convinced of what is right, go straight forward regardless of opposition." The Generalissimo, therefore, with characteristic thoroughness laid his plans for the effective dissemination of the New Life principles. He first arranged for the special training of 200 groups of students, whose duty it would be to lecture on this Movement in different parts of the country. In addition he made an appeal to all Christian missionaries to help him in this work of national renovation of spirit—an appeal to which all willingly responded. Chiang considered all this propaganda as an essential element for success, but he did not deem it sufficient. Higher government officials needed constant stimulation, if the Movement was to be a permanent one. Accordingly, in company with Madame Chiang, the Generalissimo made long tours of inspection by aeroplane, singling out especially the more distant and backward provinces. Being no respecter of persons, he did not hesitate to censure abuses wherever he discovered them.

In spite of the Generalissimo's absorption in military and moral matters, he yet found ways and means to effect many

other important national improvements. Under his leadership incredible progress has been made in the erection of schools and universities, in the building of roads and railways, and in the development of industries and agriculture. There are now, for instance, 58,000 miles of roads in China against 600 miles in 1921. The number of university students has mounted to over 43,000 as compared with about 500 in 1911, the last year of the Empire. Export trade has also rapidly increased from year to year, the figures for 1936 showing an increase of $110,000,000 over those of the previous year, while for the same period the increase in the value of agricultural produce was estimated at $3,000,000,000. Industrial development has been even more rapid, and according to the official report of the British Commercial Counsellor published at Shanghai in April 1937, " in time, the industrial development of China will rival that of almost any country in the world." The only danger, he pointed out, was that the pace might be too fast.

Well then might Chiang be proud of the great progress made during his decade of leadership. At the beginning of 1937 on China's horizon only one cloud now loomed—Japan. But rapid progress in defence was being made, and China's armies and air force were gradually becoming powerful enough to resist further aggression on the part of her ambitious neighbour. Recognising this fact, the Japanese militarists decided to delay no longer. If the dream of " Japan over Asia " was ever to be realised, then China's rapid military growth must be nipped in the bud. A minor clash between Chinese and Japanese troops at Lukuochiao near Peiping last July led to an invasion of North China and proved to be the beginning of the present Sino-Japanese war.

Into the vicissitudes of that war, which Chiang did everything possible to avert, it is unnecessary to enter. Its horrors are told day by day in our papers. That China has so far stood the strain has been mainly due to Chiang's work of unification and preparation. That work has been equal to the supreme test. Even provinces of the most dubious loyalty have hastened to the aid of the National Government in its hour of need.

" Undoubtedly Chiang is strongly inclined towards the life of an ascetic. Not only does he preach a doctrine of self-denial to his fellow-countrymen, but he practises what he preaches. He uses neither tobacco nor spirituous liquors, not even the mild stimulants, tea and coffee. . . . " So writes his friend and official biographer, Mr. Tong. And yet in spite of the Generalissimo's Spartan life and his unrelenting severity towards himself, one of his outstanding characteristics is consideration for others, and his biographer assures us that he is ever solicitous for the welfare of his subordinates and the comfort of his friends and guests.

What perhaps interests us most in Ireland is the Generalissimo's attitude of friendly cooperation with Catholic missioners. During his term of office the increase of conversions has been rapid—from about 50,000 in 1931 to over 100,000 in 1936. Besides, he has recently given a very practical proof of his zeal for the propagation of Christianity, for one of his first acts on becoming Dictator was to remove the ban against religious teaching in registered mission schools. This prohibition had always been insisted on by the pagan Kuomintang, and its sudden removal is a new revelation of the Generalissimo's religious zeal and moral courage.

From the facts above related it is evident that China's Dictator is in many ways superior to our European ones. It is possible that Mr. Tong may have somewhat idealised his hero ; but Mgr. Yu Ping (recently in Ireland) as well as others who have intimately known the Generalissimo also speak of him as a sincerely religious man, who genuinely refers to himself as the instrument of Providence in the reconstruction of his country. There is therefore nothing unreasonable in Mr. Tong's rhetorical question : " Where among his world contemporaries can be found a leader with such a brilliant record of achievement as China's Generalissimo ? "

THOMAS FLEMING

SOME PROBLEMS OF OUR AGRICULTURE

BY HENRY KENNEDY, M.A., D.SC.

NOW that the economic war has been happily terminated, no time should be lost in planning the reconstruction of the main industry of the country, agriculture. That course is essential from the point of view of solving the farmer's own problems of living. He has now suffered from nearly a decade of unprecedented depression, which has resulted in the dissipation of his reserves and, in too many cases, in the serious increase of his indebtedness. It is essential in the interests of the national finances that the export trade in agricultural products should be increased and rendered more efficient. The land in this country must be the main source of the increased wealth essential for the solution of those social problems to which all peoples at present give attention. If, however, production and exports are to be increased, it is fundamental that the farmer and the farm worker should derive such advantages from their occupation as will restore the balance of opportunity between town and country and counteract the present drift towards urban and industrial employment in this country and in Great Britain. Agricultural prosperity is essential to industrial prosperity. Industrial production must necessarily be limited where the agricultural population—one-half of the whole population—has such a low purchasing power.

It is necessary to emphasise the serious economic position of the farmer in recent years. Since 1931 in all commodities and since 1930 in dairy products the prices of farm products have been approximately on the 1913 level. On the other hand, with the exception of land annuities, there has been a serious increase in practically every item which affects the costs of production. Agricultural wages have increased; rates have increased; agricultural machinery prices have doubled –a mower which cost £10 or £11 in 1913 now costs £25.

It is not possible to give an estimate of the increase in costs of production, but an examination of the main items leaves no doubt whatever that the real returns from agriculture as a whole have been substantially less than they were in 1913. The disastrous fall in income and the increase in costs of production would have been enough to impoverish the farmer. The situation has been much aggravated by the increase in the cost of the farmer's household requirements. At date of writing, boots and clothing are reckoned to cost more than 100 per cent. on the pre-war prices ; flour and sugar 50 per cent.

There is no reason to believe that the increase in the cost of living to the farmer is any less than is shown in the official cost of living index. The wages and salaries of other members of the community have been adjusted and, in the case of sheltered occupations, more than adjusted to the increase in the cost of living. The farmer, on the other hand, has had to face the new conditions with a net income which has been very materially reduced. It is only in the nature of things that the drift from the land should take place. That drift will continue unless a reasonable balance is restored between agricultural and urban employment. It is, of course, true that agriculture has passed through a period of serious depression in all countries. But in this country there have been elements in the problem which have rendered the situation particularly acute.

It is necessary to emphasise that whatever degree of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs is aimed at—and in view of recent world events there is room for compromise on this point—the main production of our agriculture will be in the future, as in the past, the production of livestock and livestock products. In the structure of our agriculture, the dairy industry occupies the key position. It produces marketable dairy products of a very high standard ; it is the primary source of the store and fat cattle trade of the country ; and its by-product, skim milk, is a basic food material for the production of pigs and poultry. That industry especially needs to be put on a profitable basis. In recent years it has been beset with special difficulties ; low prices, difficulty of obtaining labour owing

to the greater attractions in the cities and towns, and widespread incidence of disease in dairy herds. While we have passed the unparalleled slump of the last few years, the prices current are not adequate for profitable production under existing circumstances. However we may deplore the necessity of subsidising dairy exports, if production is to be maintained and increased there seems to be no method of escaping subsidies at present, and the cost is so considerable as to warrant the expenditure of large sums in seeking a way out of subsidies in the future—always recognising the considerable time-lag that must occur in establishing new methods in agriculture. The net return to the dairy farmer is the difference between the price he receives for his milk and his costs of production. A diminution in costs is more advantageous to the farmer than a corresponding increase in price, because of the wider market arising from lower prices. It is in lower costs of production that the alternative lies to subsidies from the State, and it is in the interests of the farmer and the State that every method should be investigated which gives promise of a reduction in costs.

Under existing circumstances the main element in the cost of milk production is labour, including family labour. It is to increased output per labour unit that one must look for lower unit costs and better net returns to the farmer. As the area of the farms is fixed, this means greater production per acre. There is nothing more remarkable in the recent history of agriculture than the increase in production of New Zealand dairy farming. The output of butter increased from 33,327 tons in 1919-20 to 164,163 tons in 1933-4, and in the same period the output of cheese increased from 68,172 tons to 106,288 tons. The increase is, to a limited extent, due to an extension of dairy farming, but it is mainly due to better utilisation of the land by the increased use of fertilisers. In 1936 the Director General of Agriculture for New Zealand stated that half the butter-fat production was due to the use of fertilisers, the consumption of which had doubled in the previous ten years. In 1933-4 an investigation was made on 550 dairy farms covering 68,250 acres, with 31,636 cows.

The production of butter-fat per cow was 254 lbs. and the production per acre was 117·70 lbs. The following is quoted from a report on the investigation: "The production standard should not be less than 120 lbs. of butter-fat per acre. To attain this approximately forty-eight cows averaging 250 lbs. of butter-fat must be milked per 100 acres of land farmed."

Through the courtesy of Mr. M. Murphy, of University College, Cork, I have at my disposal the result of an investigation carried out by him about the same time in a very good dairy district in this country, where conditions would be very much above the average. The investigation covered 81 farms of a total area of 3,339 acres with 1,161 cows. The production of butter-fat per acre was 66 lbs. and the production of butter-fat per cow was 196 lbs. —considerably in excess of the average for the country, which would probably be about 150 lbs. The data in the two cases are not strictly comparable, as information is not available as to the number of horses, bulls and young heifers on the New Zealand farms. If, however, an increase of 10 per cent. is made to allow for a greater percentage of other stock on the farms in this country, the disparity in production is still very striking. There is no reason to suppose that the New Zealand land is any better by reason of rainfall and natural fertility; the probability is that the reverse is true. The butter-fat produced per labour unit in the New Zealand farms was 5,380 lbs. as against 1,016 in Mr. Murphy's survey. The low labour strength on New Zealand farms is due to machine-milking on much larger farms than in this country, as well as to the small requirements of winter fodder due to the very mild climate in the North Island, where the dairy industry is mainly located. Haymaking in our capricious climate necessitates considerable labour resources in the short period available.

The effective production of food units per acre on the farms surveyed in this country would be about 1,400 lbs. starch equivalent per acre. On the New Zealand farms to produce the actual butter-fat would necessitate the production of 1,800 lbs. starch equivalent per acre. Taking into account the other animals, the production would probably exceed 1,900 lbs.

starch equivalent per acre. Considerable attention has been given in many countries to the possible production of food units from grasslands. At the Grassland Conference held last year various figures were given, ranging from a maximum of about 4,500 lbs. to an average of about 2,500 lbs. starch equivalent per acre. These results are only obtainable by efficient management and the generous use of fertilisers. They refer, however, to countries—Germany, Sweden and Canada—where soil and rainfall conditions are not nearly so favourable for grass production as in this country.

The first step towards reducing costs of production of dairy products and cattle is a vastly extended use of fertilisers on our good grassland and the production of better grass on our lighter lands by the plough in association with a rotation programme. In Holland, famous for the intensive and scientific management of its pastures, the consumption of fertilisers per acre is fourteen times the consumption in Eire. The Scandinavian countries, with the development of the growth of clover, might well form an example to be imitated on our lighter soils.

The increased use of fertilisers for increased output of grass is, however, only half the story. Before any real improvement in methods of production can be achieved, it is essential to solve the greatest of all our agricultural problems—the provision of cheap and nutritious winter fodder for our cattle. It is not necessary to labour this point. It is obvious to anybody who travels through the country in the month of April that our cows and store cattle are emerging from a period of semi-starvation. Cows go to the pastures in an emaciated condition, unfit to produce the quantities of milk of which they are inherently capable. The bodyweight lost during the winter must be recovered, and it is recovered at a dead loss of food units which would correspond to the food necessary to produce an increased yield of close on 200 gallons per cow. The result is that the cow never reaches her full capacity for production, and both the cow and the creamery are practically non-productive for several months of the year. No serious improvement in our agricultural economy can be effected

until this problem is solved, so that production—either in the form of milk or of liveweight increase—can proceed continuously throughout the year.

The technical solution of this problem has been reached by Professor Virtanen's method of preserving grass in silos for winter use by the addition of mineral acids. It is an economic solution admirably suited to our conditions. It has stood the test of a number of years of practical experience on thousands of farms in Scandinavian countries. I have before me a ration sheet from a Finnish farm where this method of grass preservation has been in practice for a number of years. On this farm there were some 60 cows averaging over 800 gallons of milk per annum ; the cows were housed for eight months of the year and during that period they were fed entirely on home-grown foods, consisting of acid clover silage, hay and straw in small quantities, and crushed oats. No cow got any concentrated food whatever unless she was giving over two gallons of milk per day. The amount of oats fed for a cow giving four gallons was 6·6 lbs. per day. To produce nutritious winter fodder preserved by Prof. Virtanen's method, it is essential that young rich grass should be utilised from our good pasture lands. The grass must be cut before it has reached a fibrous condition. There is an enormous field for investigation in the treatment of our good grasslands and in the growth of clover and, possibly, of other leguminous crops to supply suitable material for preservation as winter feeding from our poorer lands. On the main question of the method of preservation the experimental work has been already done and in several countries has passed the most severe test of scientists.

The adoption of this system of fodder conservation would have incidental advantages apart from providing cheap winter feed comparable with summer grass. It would even out the labour requirements on the farm, as the grass can be controlled by grazing so as to be harvested at any time from the middle of May in some districts to the end of September. The provision of adequate quantities of nutritious fodder, rich in carotene, would provide a nutritious milk rich in Vitamin A

for human consumption during the winter and butter comparable with summer butter. It would do much to stop the great losses due to high calf mortality, amounting in some districts to over twenty per cent.; for without doubt the greater part of this mortality is due to winter malnutrition of cows

I repeat, that to render efficient our production of dairy products and of cattle and to cheapen costs of production the technical advances in agriculture in the last twenty years show the way, in the first place by the increased output of grass from permanent pastures or by means of the plough in the rotation, and in the second place by the conservation of that cheaply produced grass for winter use by the addition of mineral acids.

What means are to be adopted to bring this programme to realisation ? In the first place, it is essential to have the possibilities of increased production at lower costs demonstrated to the farmer, and that demonstration must be based on accurate costings under practical conditions. It is one of the ironies of the farmer's life at present that agricultural wages are fixed without apparent data as to whether it is possible to provide these wages either for the worker or for the farmer and his family. In the second place, the necessary credits for the purchase of fertilisers, the building of silos, increased stocking of the farms and better housing for stock on the farms must be provided on the cheapest and most flexible basis possible.

I have referred merely to some of the most obvious and immediate problems of our agriculture. I am satisfied that much progress can be made towards their solution, but to effect that object an intensive effort is needed without delay.

HENRY KENNEDY

CHARLES LEVER

BY ROGER J. MCHUGH, M.A.

WHOEVER journeys through nineteenth-century Ireland in search of information about its novelists must expect to be continually distracted by the cries of parties, of creeds, of vested interests in siege, and of new movements which threaten them. At first the slogans and the catch-cries are bewildering; later they are heard as a sort of incidental music, made up mainly of discords perhaps, but no less helpful for that. This applies to no novelist of that period more than to Charles Lever; for Lever was not only a novelist, he was also a political writer who strongly supported the Conservative cause and who was far more directly implicated in its conflicts than Maria Edgeworth or even Carleton. To dismiss him on this account as a mere propagandist, as many have done, is only to make one bias the terms of reference for another and to neglect an inquiry into his works—into their interest as literary or social media and the methods and circumstances which called them into existence.

I

Lever was born in Dublin in 1806; the house was No. 35 where Amiens Street bridge now runs. His father, James Lever, had come to Ireland from Lancashire in 1787. He was a builder, a solid man who wisely began by building up a good government connection which gained him many contracts. All through the decline and fall of Grattan's Parliament, he continued to prosper. He took his mind off his work long enough to woo and marry Miss Julia Candler, descendant of a Cromwellian planter family which had settled in Kilkenny; then he went on building churches, workhouses, and barracks. By the time that his second son, Charles James Lever, saw daylight, James was a man of substance, esteemed among the Dublin merchants, liked for his hospitality. He seems to have been something of a *raconteur*, with many stories of the

well-known figures associated with the Dublin Parliament. About the time that Carleton was trudging towards Dublin, Charles sat at his father's feet listening to accounts of Grattan, Curran, Boyle Roche, Flood, Buck Whaley, Fighting Fitzgerald; and of incidents with the hectic colouring of the city before the Union or the pallor of her decline after that measure was passed.

Having received a scattered education at sundry private schools, Charles entered Trinity College Dublin in 1822, where in the intervals of practical joking in Botany Bay, horse-racing in the Phoenix Park, or wandering through Dublin's streets disguised as a ballad-singer, he studied for his B.A. degree, which he took in 1827. Then he started medicine, walked the wards of Steevens' Hospital and Sir Patrick Dun's, and left Ireland to continue his studies abroad. He visited Göttingen, Heidelberg, Weimar (where he met Goethe) and Vienna. The Continent's gay student life, with its curious blend of *bruderschaft* and duelling, both governed by rigid formalities, fascinated him, caused him later to found a club on *burschenschaft* lines in Dublin, and had no small influence on his subsequent writing and on his taste for wandering.

In 1829 he returned to Dublin, but soon set off as a medical officer on an emigrant ship bound from New Ross for Quebec. In Canada he sought adventure, and there is some evidence of his having lived for a time with a Red Indian tribe there. Back in Dublin in 1831, he graduated in medicine at Trinity and began a period of work as dispensary doctor in different parts of Ireland. He worked in Kilrush during a severe cholera epidemic, later in Kilkee, Carrigaholt, Portrush, Portstewart, and Derry. During this time he met William Hamilton Maxwell, the sporting parson and writer who lived at Balla—' where game was abundant and parishioners scarce '; it seems probable that Maxwell, whose *Wild Sports of the West* was then selling well, first influenced Lever to think of writing as a profession. At that time he had only a few humorous sketches in daily papers or the unlucky *Irish National Magazine* to his credit. Another incentive was his marriage to Miss Katherine Blake, daughter of the principal of an endowed school at

Navan. He had known her years before in Dublin, and married her against the wishes of his father, to whose way of thinking she had not enough financial attraction.

But it was rather by accident that Lever eventually became a writer. Some time before 1837 he settled at Brussels, under the favour of Sir H. Seymour, the British minister, and in the intervals of establishing a practice there he began to contribute *The Confessions of Harry Lorrequer* to the recently established *Dublin University Magazine*. *Lorrequer* was, as he said, 'little other than a notebook of absurd and laughable incidents,' compounded of anecdotes, escapades, practical jokes, hair-breadth escapes, duels, dances, mistakes of identity, and drinking bouts. His hero, whom he invented 'to give what consistency I might to a mass of incongruous adventure,' had a phenomenal capacity for strong drink and an equally phenomenal memory for stories, together with a flair for getting into scrapes which was only surpassed by his flair for getting out of them. The two main ingredients of the *Confessions*, Elton says, are the hoax and the row.[1] Both were overdone, but the public enjoyed the slapdash way they were served. The circulation of the *Dublin University Magazine* began to skyrocket. Lever was amazed. 'If this sort of thing amuses them, thought I, I can go on for ever.' And on he went, until the dashing and absurd dragoon swelled from a stripling into the dimensions of a three-volume-novel hero. M'Glashan, publisher and part proprietor of the magazine, sniffed the air of public approval and sought out the author. This connection and the subsequent success of *Charles O'Malley* led to M'Glashan's offer and Lever's acceptance of the editorship of the *Dublin University Magazine*.

Lever acted as editor from 1842 until 1845. During this time he wrote *Jack Hinton*, *Tom Burke of Ours*, *Arthur O'Leary*, and *The O'Donoghue*. He lived at Templeogue House, where he entertained lavishly and where one can still see the tower in which he wrote these novels. He was fond of horses, cards, and above everything, of conversation. 'Of all men I have ever met,' said Trollope, 'he was the surest fund of drollery,'[2]

[1] *Survey of English Literature*, 1830-1880

[2] Trollope: *Autobiography*.

and he compares Lever's conversation to a firework display or a whirlwind ride in an express train.

Why Lever left Ireland in 1845 may be attributed to several causes. Ill-health, and the feeling that his literary resources were giving out, were partly responsible. Another reason was the fire from both sides of the Irish political battleground which now assailed him. His editorship of the *D. U. M.* linked him firmly to the Conservatives. In 1842 his first editorial address had promised to maintain 'the assertion of our political cause' by upholding the traditions of the magazine now 'for nearly ten years the steady defender of the Protestantism of these realms.' [1] The tone of those articles which touch on politics or on religion during the following years certainly accords with that promise, being typical of a time of transition during which the Established Church and Protestant landlords viewed the rise of O'Connell and Repeal with chronic alarm, and fiercely resented the growing political influence of the priests, which was replacing that of their own parsons. Later, diehard Tory papers, like the *Mail* and the *Warden*, began to attack Lever for not being Conservative enough. At the same time the *Nation* attacked him, through Carleton, as a buffoon who was making money by parodying his fellow-countrymen. Thackeray's dedication of the unpopular *Irish Sketch Book*, which he had written at Templeogue House, to his host increased the storm. Lever fell foul of O'Connell in a vituperative combat. Before that, he had all but reached duelling-point with Dr. Kenealy and with S. C. Hall, whom he had himself attacked as a slanderer of the Irish people. It was not quite the right atmosphere for literary work. At any rate, Lever decided to go abroad. Like Joyce, he took much of Ireland with him. The remainder of his life, apart from his writings, belongs to Europe.

II

This period of his life was spent mainly in three places: in Florence, in Spezia, and in Trieste—beginning with a sort

[1] *Dublin University Magazine*, March 21, 1842.

of grand Tour, ' with his carriages and piebald ponies and his beautiful but showily dressed wife and three daughters, all with long, flowing, auburn hair. From Baden he carried off the Grand Duke's chef; in Carlsruhe he insulted the Hof Marschale and outraged court etiquette generally . . . Settling down in Florence, he distinguished himself, among a hundred other ways, by driving his carriage full speed along the crowded Cascine, while his daughters, mounted on the piebald ponies, followed *en cavalcade*, their red hair streaming in the wind.' [1] His friends laughed at the stir caused by the family; his enemies said that Lever was running a circus. Lever himself settled down to work, producing some dozen novels between 1846 and 1854. The best known of them in Ireland are *The Knight of Gwynne*, *The Martins of Cro'Martin*, and *The Dodd Family*. The first two deal directly with Irish political and social conditions; the last satirizes the affectations of an Irish family abroad. *Con Cregan*, a picturesque novel in the Gil Blas tradition, and *Maurice Tiernay*, whose hero of Wild Geese origin lands with the French at Killala, belong also to this period. Both have a strong Irish interest. The others are *Roland Cashel*, *Tales of the Trains*, *Horace Templeton*, *Sir Jasper Carew*, *The Daltons*, and *A Day's Ride*—the last of which misfired badly in Dickens' *Household Words* and had to be withdrawn.

During this period, Lever made several visits to London in search of a consular post, a Conservative editorship in England, or a lecture tour in America. Many of his letters written on these occasions to his wife and to his daughter Sydney are now in the Huntingdon Library at California. They have probably been published in full by this time. A selection from them is given in the Huntingdon Library Bulletin for October 1936; it makes very interesting reading, throwing much light on the literary circle of London at that time. ' I have had a letter of blubbering blarney from Lytton —he loves us all so much that he really takes four sheets of paper to open the description,' he wrote in 1854. There was

[1] Franklin P. Rolfe in Huntingdon Library Bulletin, Harvard University Press, Oct. 1936.

little doing in the way of consular appointments. 'Disabled and invalided officers are to get everything—as if the loss of a leg was a warranty for legislative capacity. . . . Thackeray has returned having netted £6,000 in his last tour; he is now ready with a new book. Dickens' *Dorrit* is tremendously abused, but so advertized etc. that it sells malgré tout. I met Tom Trollope here, he has something coming out with Chapman . . . My brethern in ink seem strangely puzzled with me—they do not appear to understand the fact of a man being a gentleman without wanting to bully others for not being the same. Between Lytton Bulwer's bashan airs and Douglas Jerrold's brandy and water they seem to have no middle term whatever. By the way, you would not believe what a mere village this Great Babylon is after all—how cliqueish, how miserably small and contracted!' This in 1856. His personal disappointment occasionally shows itself. 'They [the big literary figures] are quite ready to give me an occasional whiff of the incense whenever they find they have too much smoke on their own altars' . . . Letters written in 1857 contain some acid remarks about Lytton's affectations, the aloofness of his former friend Dickens, 'fanned and peacocks feathered by Bradbury,' and 'the bloated humbug of Queen, Council, and Commons.' In the same year, though he lost a prospective editorship, he established contacts which led to his appointment as British Vice-Consul at Spezia.

At Spezia Lever spent the next ten years, during which he wrote nine novels, including *Sir Brooke Fosbrooke*, which was his own favourite, and *Cornelius O'Dowd*, originally a series of essays in *Blackwood*, which gained Lever's popularity a new lease of life. *Davenport Dunn*, *Glencore*, *One of them Barrington*, *Tony Butler*, *A Campaigner at Home*, and *Luttrell of Aran* were the others. His consular duties were not very arduous, but kept him in touch with the men and movements which made Italy an exciting place to live. The Tuscan Revolution, Sardinia's defeat, Sicily's insurrection, the fall of the Pope's government, the Neapolitan war, all occurred after Lever's arrival in Florence. His letters from there and from Spezia are a mine of political information about such events.

Some time before 1862 Lever entertained Garibaldi to breakfast at Spezia. His task was 'to explain to his guest that any overt expressions or acts of sympathy with Fenianism would be certain to alienate English sympathies. Garibaldi seemed to be somewhat surprised at this. He looked on England as a nation eager to applaud any patriotic or revolutionary movement.' [1] In 1867 he met Gladstone. 'I don't think I ever saw a more consummate actor—what the French call *poseur*—with all the outward semblance of perfect indifference to display and complete forgetfulness of self. Even Disraeli himself is less artificial.' [2] The same year he was appointed consul at Trieste, a town whose appearance and climate he disliked intensely. Here he spent the last years of his life. *Gerald Fitzgerald, The Bramleighs of Bishops' Folly, That Boy of Norcott's, Paul Goslett's Confession*, and *Lord Kilgobbin* were written between 1867 and 1872, the year of his death.

III

In all, Lever wrote over thirty novels. Most of them have some Irish interest; many are directly concerned with Ireland and her people. It is Lever's fate to be associated mainly with his first three novels, and this has largely prevented a comprehensive estimate of his work. *Harry Lorrequer, Charles O'Malley*, and *Jack Hinton* are three of a kind; the last two were born of *Lorrequer's* success and are to all extents and purposes the same. In each novel the hero goes through a succession of rollicking or sensational scenes, hearing stories and songs, until the fatal sentence 'The next day I was married' puts a period to his escapades and supplies his epitaph. Some campaigning in the Napoleonic wars or some lovers' misunderstandings provide serious interest; the heroine is usually brought on to the stage whenever the hero runs out of stories or wants an excuse to set off campaigning again. The minor characters form a phantasmagoric procession of landed gentry, bailiffs, proctors, dragoons, generals, hard-drinking

1. Edmund Downey: *Charles Lever, His Life in His Letters.* London 1906.
2. do.

squires, and hard-riding Galway horsewomen—among whom an occasional droll servant or drunken Major attains solidity by reason of a copious supply of anecdote or song. The background is usually that with which Lever was most familiar: Dublin, the west of Ireland, or the Continent. The writing shows every sign of being hurried along for monthly consumption: many situations are repeated with little variation; there are numerous extravagances, absurdities, and mistakes. Yet the stories, taking them by and large, are well told; there are some stirring battle-scenes and dramatic incidents, and the three novels have an ethos of their own, a sort of Roderick Random *cum* Tristram Shandy blend which—granted the premises that anything may happen and that all digressions are desirable—is very entertaining.

Thackeray's mock-novel '*Phil Fogarty* by Harry Rollicker,'[1] though not a really good parody, is said to have hurt Lever and to have accounted for the less extravagant air of the novels which followed. The protagonist of *Arthur O'Leary*, a fat gentleman with a taste for good wine, anecdote, and continental wandering, resembles Lever's earlier figures, but his observations on men and manners abroad are told in an easier and less slapdash style. *The O'Donoghue*, written after a visit to Kerry, concerns itself seriously with the social background of 1798. It centres around the dispossessed O'Donoghue family, which lives on a part of the estate which once belonged to them but is now owned by an Englishman, Sir Marmaduke Travers. The latter comes from England with his daughter Kate and goes about lecturing the peasantry on industry and frugality; 'nor did they ever make the reply, which was ready at every lip, that industry cannot be practised without an occupation, nor frugality be pushed beyond the very borders of starvation.' Harmsworth, his crafty agent, tries to get the estate for himself by playing off landlord against tenant, grinding the latter in the name of the former, misrepresenting and cheating both. His tactics help to drive young Mark O'Donoghue into the ranks of the United Irishmen. After the failure of Bantry Bay, he leaves for France, returning

[1] Novels by Eminent Hands: Collected Works, Vol. XV.

after serving in Napoleon's army, to marry Kate. This novel is written in a confused manner, with some historical mistakes and much melodrama in the more 'intense' moments; but it is interesting as the beginning of Lever's interest in Irish social and political problems, which was to develop in *The Knight of Gwynne* and *The Martins of Cro' Martin*. It also indicates Lever's attitude towards those problems—that of a liberally-minded Conservative who believed that the Protestant landed gentry could save themselves by their own exertions, and who, if he had little sympathy for Irish revolutionaries, had infinitely less for the cruel system of restriction and neglect under which the Irish peasant suffered. 'From no man's life, perhaps, is hope more rigidly excluded than from that of the Irish peasant,' he wrote in his next novel *St. Patrick's Eve*.[1] 'Daily labour, barely sufficient to produce the meanest necessaries of life, points to no period of rest or repose; year succeeds year in the same dull routine of toil and privation; nor can he look around him and see one who has risen from that life of misery to a position of even comparative comfort.' This short novel, which through some error is omitted from the list of Lever's works in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, contains a severe indictment of absenteeism which was welcomed by Charles Gavan Duffy.[2] The central figure, Owen Connor, is driven by injustice, famine, and his family's death to seek revenge upon his landlord. The background, for which Lever drew upon his own experiences in Kilkee during the cholera epidemic, is convincing, and the work has power.

Lever continued to work this vein in *The Knight of Gwynne* and *The Martins of Cro' Martin*, two of his best novels. The first deals with Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century. The intrigues which preceded the passing of the Union, the rallying of the best men of Grattan's Parliament against the measure, the brilliant atmosphere of Dublin during the period are carefully depicted. Lever set out to embody in the Knight himself the best characteristics of the patriotic Irish gentleman of that time; dignified, chivalrous, and cultured, he holds his head high through all the government bribery and legal trickery

[1] Probably written in 1846. [2] *My Life in Two Hemispheres.*

which nearly caused the loss of his estate to the usurer, Hickman, who has risen from an apothecary's shop in Loughrea to be a real power in the land. Two other convincing figures are the Knight's friend Bagenal Daly, adventurer and duellist, and Freney the robber, whose bluff code is shown to be far superior to that existing in government circles. The preface to *The Martins of Cro' Martin* says that its author desired to sketch the picture of social conditions after the Emancipation Bill of 1829; that he had watched the effects with interest, seeing many faults and prejudices on both sides, but also the merging of many party hates and personal jealousies. The owner of the Martin estate is indifferent to his tenantry, while his wife sneers at everything Irish; in contrast is their niece, Mary Martin, who goes among the peasantry, organizing drainage, road-making, afforestation, farming, and relief. Lever intended that she should embody what could be done for the people, who are depicted as being torn between affection for her and the desire to put in 'one of their own.' The attorneys and the Liberals play off landlords against tenants in their own interests. Maurice Scanlon—barrister, election-agent, and opportunist—is the prototype of the first group; Massingbred —English Liberal, who angles for and gets the support of the middle-class Catholics, whom he despises—represents the second. There is some good satire of the rising middle-class in Oughterard, who ape the English gentry: young Neligan, who rises to the top of the legal profession by his own ability, is sympathetically drawn. The best character in the book is old Repton, an ironical old barrister who has survived from Grattan's day. "As Flood once remarked to me of old Romney: 'A man, Sir,' said he—and Flood had a semi-sarcastic solemnity always about him—'a man, Sir, who has reversed the Law of Physics; for he rose by his gravity, and fell only by his lightness.' Very epigrammatic and sharp that. Ah, Martin, they don't say things like that now-a-days." Besides supplying an ironic commentary on the period's jobbery, Repton is the voice of Nemesis forecasting the doom of the whole Irish land-system. 'The old social compact between Proprietor and Peasant is repealed,' he says to Mary.

'Now, if your grandfather had pursued the path that you are doing to-day, this crisis might never have arrived; but he did not, young lady. He lived like a real gentleman; he hunted, and drank, and feasted, and rack-rented, and horse-whipped all around him; and what with duelling of a morning and drinking over-night, he taught the people a code of morals that has assumed all the compactness of a system.' His warning proves true, and the Martin estate gradually drifts into the Encumbered Estates Court. Here, as in *The Knight of Gwynne*, the difference between the workmanship and that of *The O'Donoghue* is remarkable. The description of externals is more careful and the portraiture far more deliberate; even the minor characters, like Jimmy Crow, the little painter who continued all his life painting the Abdication of Charles V and the Finding of Moses, are created with great care, contrasting sharply with those of the Lorrequer group.

These novels, with *Con Cregan* and *Maurice Tiernay*, belong to Lever's middle period. Later came *Luttrell of Aran*, in which a recluse who lives on one of the Aran islands is the chief character, and *Sir Brooke Fosbrooke*, which Lever considered his best novel. If its rather ramshackle plot does not justify this opinion, the character of the old judge, who steals all the interest of the story, does much to do so. Like Repton, Chief Baron Lendrick belongs to an earlier day. Distrustful alike of English jingoes, Irish jacobins, and Castle jobbers, he defends his prejudices and his integrity against all-comers with a tongue as deadly as a duelling-pistol. With his villain, as was often the case, Lever was not at home; Colonel Sewell, the adventurer who tries to use both Balfour, the jobbing Chief Secretary who wants Lendrick's place for government's disposal, and old Lendrick, who is determined that he will not surrender it, is not convincing. His devilish temper and his cruelty to his wife are switched on at regular intervals with a decidedly strained effect. But the book is well worth reading for its polished ironical dialogue, with many a *bon mot* and epigram, which was beloved of pre-Union Dublin, and of which Lever was undoubtedly a master.

R

Lever's earlier political activity and his repeated hits at O'Connell and the Catholic clergy have caused much biassed judgment of his work. Consistent enough with his political views, his frequent attacks on 'demagogues' and political priests, though they had some justification, can be attributed to his distrust of the Repeal Movement. It is clear that, though he saw plainly that the old feudal system in Ireland had decayed from the top down, he exaggerated the Conservatives' ability to build up a better system in its place; in this he was undoubtedly prejudiced. His letters show that he disliked young Irelanders, '48 men, and Fenians *en masse*; yet Tone, who features in *Maurice Tiernay*, is treated with respect, and a Fenian leader is the real hero of his last novel, *Lord Kilgobbin*. This novel, written at a time when grief for his wife's death had brought him near his own, is one of Lever's best. The plot is well-knit and the characters, apart from an insipid pair of lovers, are good. They include Peter Gill, an old land-steward unable to read or write but skilled in a knowledge of the law's windings around the neglected Kilgobbin estate, a pocket-Metternich whose main task is to keep news of all land or repeal agitation from its tenantry; Joe Atlee, son of an Ulster Presbyterian minister, an intelligent young Fenian who wants Ireland to be self-reliant, independent, prosperous, and not tied up with imperial considerations of who rules India or owns Turkey; and Donogan, Fenian head-centre, who is returned as a member of parliament although there is a price on his head. One of Lever's few really convincing women is created in Nina, who having preached worldly wisdom all through the book finally jilts two safe suitors in order to elope with Donogan. The closing scene, in which she sings a Fenian ballad to her friends while her lover, hidden outside, prepares for their elopement, is very dramatic. The ballad itself must have come from Lever's pen :—

> Is there anything more we can fight or can hate for?
> The "drop" and the famine have made our ranks thin.
> In the name of endurance, then, what do we wait for?
> Will nobody give us the word to begin?

IV

Within the limits of this article, this brief account of some of Lever's novels of Irish interest is all that can be attempted. A consideration of the general body of his works would lead from such ill-written productions as *A Day's Ride* or *That Boy of Norcott's* to *The Dodd Family Abroad*, 'a sort of prose *Fudge Family*, deeper, broader, and more comprehensive than Moore's clever satire,' [1] and *Cornelius O'Dowd*. The latter consists of essays written in a very easy and attractive manner, ranging from sketches of Garibaldi and his followers to discursive meditations upon the Decline of whist or Grattan's instructions to his son to 'be always ready with the pistol.' To these essays anecdote lends point, but is not overdone; there is much good descriptive writing and some excellent satire. If Lever had written nothing else he would still deserve to be remembered.

There is a certain sameness about his novels written between 1852 and 1862, due to the fact that practically all of them ring the changes on the mock-royalty of Continental courts, the blunders of English tourists abroad, and the doings of sharpers such as Grog Davis, or financial swindlers like Davenport Dunn. None of Lever's plots are beyond criticism; this is partly due to the literary methods which won him fame, partly to serial writing, and partly to weakness in artistic conception. He said himself that he often started with a definite objective, but 'was never sure when I started for Norway that I might not end in Naples'; also that endings were always his weak point. As for what came in between, his letters [2] show that he could put in characters and incidents, or take them out, tone them down, or ginger them up, according to public taste. Some of his prefaces show a regard for the public which his letters do not echo, but he cannot be accused of thinking solely in terms of what his public wanted. Many disliked his later novels and kept on asking why he didn't write more like *Harry Lorrequer*; his strictures on Irish landlords made him suspect of 'repealizing'; his jests at

[1] *Blackwood's Magazine*, April, 1862. [2] ed. Downey.

English tourists and his pride in Irish scenery and people and in Irish military prowess abroad were not calculated to please anybody except himself. A certain critic, he said once apropos of *The O'Donoghue*, 'sneered at my making a poor peasant child find pleasure in the resonance of a Homeric verse; but I could tell him of barefooted boys in the south, running errands for a scanty subsistence, with a knowledge of classical literature which would puzzle many a gowned student to cope with."

Lever had no illusions about his own literary limitations, and ranked Carleton and Maria Edgeworth far above himself. If his work has not always the close observation of the first or the power and convincing peasant-portraiture of the second, it has many things which they lack; humorous incident easily told, polished repartee, genial conversation. It has a strength too of its own. Professor Elton has justly praised Lever for the excellence of his military novels and battle-scenes (many of which were derived from an intelligent study of *Victoires, conquêtes, désastres . . . des Français de* 1792 *à* 1819). He sums up :—

> Lever, it will be seen, was much more than a mere rattlepate and farce-monger. It was his ill-fortune that, by the time he had begun to take both life and the art of fiction seriously, he should have lost some of his early lightness and freshness, and should too frequently have dulled his style by over-production.[1]

It is a just judgment. Saintsbury's review of his novels,[2] which seems to have been based on a cursory reading of the first three of them, will not bear close analysis. Richard Garnett, who wrote the article on Lever in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is a good deal fairer, though his statement that Lever's novels have 'done much to perpetuate current errors' about Ireland deserves qualification; for if the British public took for granted that Ireland was full of Harry Lorrequers and Mickey Frees, it was more their fault than Lever's. And enough has been said of his Irish novels to show that he must have removed a great deal more misapprehensions than he fostered.

ROGER J. MCHUGH

[1] *Survey of Eng. Lit.* 1830-1880. [2] *Fortnightly Review*, Sept. 1879.

GALWAY AS A TRANSATLANTIC PORT

BY COLONEL J. J. O'CONNELL, M.A.

IT will be remembered how, during the immediately pre-war years a number of competent authorities discussed and advocated what was then called the "All-Red Route"—*i.e.* an extra-short transatlantic line of traffic linking Great Britain with Canada *via* Ireland. This project aimed at being the most expeditious in peace-time and the safest in war. The means proposed comprised a train-ferry across the North Channel, the development of the Ulster railway system and its prolongation to Blacksod Bay, and an ocean port at the latter point. The project remained a project, but its inherent reasonableness was sufficiently demonstrated during the World War. The project, in one form or another, has been again mooted from time to time since the World War. Two very illuminating studies of the matter—by Sir John P. Griffith and Mr. Desmond McAteer respectively—have appeared in this review: "Galway a Sea and Air Port," Sept. 1929; "Bantry Bay as a Port of Call," June 1931. To both these there will be occasion to refer on specific points, but at the moment it is preferable to merely indicate the general line of approach taken by the distinguished authors in question—as, indeed, by practically everybody who has at any time dealt with the matter.

The Question in its old Form

This question of an Irish transatlantic port has almost invariably been treated from the view-point of *liner* traffic—*i.e.* passengers and mails. The aim was to establish an easily-accessible, safe and commodious harbour, where time would be not lost but gained in the transhipment—in the broadest acceptance—of passengers, baggage and mails, together with some small amount of light freight. Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to say that it was mainly a luxury trade that was being catered for. Moreover, the matter was studied

almost exclusively from the standpoint of east-bound traffic; traffic returning to the American continent was not taken into consideration to the same extent.

The weak point in all such schemes—their comparative unsuitability to cope with a state of war—was amply demonstrated during the years 1914-18. Naval hostilities on a large scale will at once put a stop to all such traffic—east-bound and west-bound alike. It is, admittedly, the case that a first-class harbour is always acceptable for ships of war, but it is not essential to have one on the luxury scale. The average jack-tar of any country and of any rank is accustomed to "hard-lying," even in peace-time. In war he can readily make shift with any sort of emergency anchorage to refuel—or can even refuel at sea. From his point of view, the expense of subsidising a liner harbour could be better spent otherwise.

At all events, for whatever reason, a first-class liner port was never installed in Ireland—and never will be now. The most recent of such projects dates back several years, and modern developments have made any such port superfluous. The development of Transatlantic Air Traffic will do far more to expedite mail and passenger traffic than any conceivable development of ships and ports—and at far less expense. Nor will such traffic be nearly as vulnerable—and therefore likely to stop—in time of war. Consequently, if we consider the matter of an Irish transatlantic port under our new conditions, we must approach the question rather differently than before.

The Effect of Aviation Developments

As the idea of a liner harbour has been so firmly fixed in the Irish public mind for over a generation it is desirable to stress somewhat the altered circumstances, with a view to satisfying people as to the prospects of aviation in the matter. The following is sufficiently convincing :—

> The North Atlantic presents difficulties more numerous and more formidable than those encountered in the Eastern Hemisphere. The wide expanse of ocean, the frequency of bad weather and especially fog, and the danger of ice formation on the wings (due to the low temperatures that may be expected during at least half the year) are

sufficient to account for the fact that a regular service of aircraft between the United Kingdom and North America has not yet been commenced. But during the year 1937 successful survey flights across the North Atlantic have proved the practicability of a regular service, which may be expected to begin during the summer of 1938.

The route chosen was from Foynes, on the estuary of the River Shannon, in the Irish Free State, to Botwood, Newfoundland, a distance of about two thousand miles; and two of the Empire flying boats, *Cambria* and *Caledonia* had been specially adapted with larger fuel-carrying capacity to give the necessary extra range for the Atlantic crossing.

On the 5th July, 1937, at 6.57 p.m. Greenwich Time, *Caledonia* took off from Foynes for her long flight to Botwood; and 2½ hours later a Pan-American flying boat, *Clipper III*, left Botwood to fly to Foynes. All through the night they flew in total darkness and through occasional showers of rain, while a fairly constant wind blew from west to east at about 25 miles per hour. The two flying boats constantly exchanged wireless signals with their terminal stations, with various other stations in the United Kingdom, Canada and the U.S.A., with ships at sea, and with each other. About six o'clock in the morning they passed each other and exchanged greetings at short range. *Clipper III* reached Foynes at 9.44 a.m. Greenwich Mean Time and sixteen minutes later (at 10.0 a.m. Greenwich Mean Time) *Caledonia* reported safely "landed" at Botwood, Newfoundland. *Caledonia* had completed the journey of 1,993 miles in 15 hours and 3 minutes against a head wind of about 25 miles per hour, while *Clipper III* had covered the same distance, with the wind helping her, in 12 hours and 34 minutes—a very creditable performance for both, since they completed their journeys in less than scheduled time. . . . . .

In these historic flights, as in that already noticed above, their very precision and comparative uneventfulness may disguise the dangers and difficulties that were actually overcome. To make such precision possible, the most painstaking research had been performed by meteorologists, air navigators, aircraft designers, and wireless engineers and operators, while the men who were responsible for captaining the two flying boats had been chosen from among the most experienced and reliable of air pilots.[1]

What now requires to be considered is whether—in view of the varying circumstances of peace and war—(A) a great Irish transatlantic cargo port should be installed; and (B), if the answer to this first question is in the affirmative, the

[1] Extract from "The Air Annual of the British Empire," 1938.

best location for such a port; for, unquestionably, only *one* such port could be contemplated. Let us, in the first place, consider (A).

The Desirability of a Transatlantic Port

In order to arrive at an answer to this question it is first of all necessary to examine carefully the volume and character of the maritime traffic passing by Ireland—for the volume of strictly Irish traffic would never justify the expenditure. Only a great international hinterland makes possible ports like Antwerp and Rotterdam; and the prospective Irish port would need to be assured of some such hinterland.

Northern European ocean traffic follows one or other of five great routes. Going clock-wise these are :—

(*a*) The Mediterranean-Suez route.
(*b*) The Cape of Good Hope route.
(*c*) The South Atlantic-Cape Horn route.
(*d*) The Panama Canal-Gulf route.
(*e*) The North Atlantic route.

The first three of these may be practically ruled out of consideration. Ships following them—bound inward—would approach Ireland directly from the south, and it is difficult to imagine—even under war conditions—any reason why they should touch at an Irish port.

The conditions, as regards the other two routes, are rather different. From the Panama region a ship approaches Ireland practically from the south-west; and from North America from a little south of west. The diversion of route to touch Ireland is therefore very much less in these two cases, and—in war-time at least—it would almost certainly be made if a really good harbour were available. Even in peace-time there would, under certain conditions, be a strong inducement to make the diversion in question.

It is not entirely a question of the tonnage carried in any given instance: there must also be considered the duration of the voyage and the time spent in port unloading and loading. This is what is known as "turn-round," and obviously

is a vital matter in any system of shipping economy. For example, let us suppose a vessel of 10,000 tons, which makes a voyage of twenty days, takes ten days to reload and a further twenty on her homeward voyage. This ship has been fifty days absent during which she has carried 20,000 tons—*i.e.* an average of 400 tons per day. Now suppose the case of a ship half her size but faster and handier. This vessel takes only ten days for the voyage each way and spends only five days in port. Accordingly she has been only twenty-five days absent while transporting 10,000 tons—*i.e.* the same daily average as the larger vessel—with lower running costs, presumably.

Let us now examine what advantages would be afforded to cargo shipping by a really up-to-date commercial harbour in Ireland—without, for the moment, going into certain obvious counter-arguments. First of all, there is the obvious geographical advantage of the shorter voyage—at least one day and probably two per voyage—in taking a western Irish port as against a western port of Great Britain. Then, the Irish port—*ex hypothesi* oceanic—would be much more speedily accessible than any riverine port. Finally, to justify the project at all, the quayage installations of every kind would presumably be the last word. Time spent in port depends on facilities for loading and unloading, for storing and evacuation. Hence ample and convenient sheds and railway sidings are indispensable. It is superiority in such respects that enables brand-new " mushroom " ports, such as Casablanca and Gdynia, to compete successfully against long-established rivals. We can, therefore, reasonably assume for our Irish port a definite advantage as regards " turn-round."

It is next necessary to consider what commodities arrive in Europe along the routes (*d*) and (*e*) and which of these could reasonably be expected to discharge at an Irish port prior to distribution over a more extensive hinterland than the country itself affords. We can take as a useful general guide the British Admiralty publication " Geographical Distribution of British Shipping "—published in 1937. The relative percentage and origin figures vary only slightly from

year to year in peace-time: nor is it necessary to go very minutely into detail. Provided the proportion of any commodity transported along these routes reaches, say, one-fourth of the total imports of that commodity, it is clearly well worth catering for, if that is possible. Considering first minerals, we find on our list the following:—Copper 75%, copper ore 68%, lead 32%, nickel 80%, tin ore 74%, zinc 55%, zinc ore 40%. In the matter of food-stuffs we find:—barley 29%, oats 69%, sugar 54%, wheat 35%. Other commodities would be:—cotton 45%, paper 30%, timber 19%. Now there is one very definite characteristic common to all these—or nearly all—they are *non-perishable.* They are not such goods as would suffer from long storage or re-handling. This is a factor of very great value, when the matter at issue is a port of trans-shipment. Indeed, the real question at issue is how best to arrange for their *economical* distribution in peace-time: from their nature *speed* in distribution is of secondary importance. In war, on the other hand, the economic aspect fades into the background. What is then vital is *certainty of procurement*: and in an Irish port they would at all events be nearer the scene of action by some three thousand sea miles.

In peace-time, however, speed in distribution takes precedence over safe storage. One measure for this purpose is, obviously, the improvement of the railway system serving the port. In the particular conditions of a great cargo port carrying capacity and flexibility of routeing are the important things: speed is less essential. Another and even more important factor in distribution would be the development of an important coastwise trade. These two factors must be presupposed in any project of the kind under review; so there is no need to emphasise them any further.

CATERING FOR TANKER-TONNAGE

There is, however, one very important kind of cargo vessel of which no mention has yet been made, that uses our two routes and, from the nature of her work, turns round and

goes home empty. This is the oil-tanker; and it is for her that any Irish transatlantic port must cater above all. In a normal peace-time year no less than 60% of British imports of petroleum and its products originate along the arc of coast from Trinidad round to Galveston,—while in time of war it is questionable whether any other region would be worth considering as a source of supply of these commodities.

Now, saving in time is especially valuable to a ship returning empty—and the bigger the ship, the greater the saving. Accordingly the Irish port should be equipped for the immediate and simultaneous docking and discharging of a considerable number of the largest tankers. The aim, indeed, must be to enable these vessels to discharge as near as possible to the edge of the open ocean.

The largest tanker type may be taken as corresponding to the motorship *C.O. Stillman* of the International Petroleum Company. This vessel is of 16,436 tons gross and measures 566 feet long.[1] She is thus well under two-thirds of the length of the largest liners—*Normandie*, *Queen Mary*, etc. She is, in fact, of very similar dimensions to those of the medium-sized non-luxury liners that already take in Irish harbours as ports of call—and which would presumably do so increasingly if genuine harbour accommodation were available. At the same time, it should be pointed out that the *C.O. Stillman* is an exceptional ship of her type. The average tanker is a good deal smaller—being about 6,500 tons gross, with a length of the order of 400 feet. The main point to stress is that—as far as water spaces and depths are concerned —any harbour capable of catering for tankers will easily accommodate any passenger or cargo vessel ever likely to use an Irish port regularly. The casual and emergency case of *refuge* need not be considered: such is quite definitely uneconomic, whether in peace or war.

Evidently, in order to establish a great transatlantic "oil-head" such as has been indicated, we should require an adequate distributing system—both for Ireland and beyond. The moderate home needs would be easily met and we need not

[1] Brassey's "Naval and Shipping Annual," 1934, p. 346.

stop to consider them. The further distribution would require a pipe-line across Ireland and under the Irish Sea to some point in England. There would not appear to be any very exceptional difficulty in realising these: the main point to emphasise is that the pipe-line would be one most important factor to take into account when fixing the location of the transatlantic port—which, it must be stressed, would very largely be an "oil-head."

It has been said that such a port as that under discussion requires an extensive and developed hinterland. In the particular case under review this boils down to the question whether the Irish Sea constitutes such a physical breach as cannot be bridged without undue trouble and expense. Here, again, we find that peace-time conditions are more difficult to assess than those obtaining in war. But we can at least size up the general situation.

Movement across the Irish Sea and its entrances is entirely conditioned by the fact that geographical conditions on either coast impose three points of entry and departure on each—Belfast, Dublin, Wexford on the Irish side; the Clyde, Mersey and Bristol Channel on the other. These are all to be understood as *areas* rather than as *points*—and all others are subsidiary to one or other of them. The main traffic routes cross directly in each case, but these are criss-crossed by less important diagonal routes and there are, in addition, coastal lines north and south. Finally, there is the quite distinct oceanic traffic coming in by the two entrances. To quote Admiral Mahan: "The Irish Sea, separating the British Islands, rather resembles an estuary than an actual division"; and Sir Halford MacKinder says: "The seas which divide Ireland from Great Britain are truly inland waters. They penetrate through the mountainous oceanic border of Britain to the plains of the interior, and in certain parts present long stretches of flat shore, as in Lancashire and to the north of Dublin." [1]

This character of the Irish Sea is at all events calculated to considerably facilitate the laying of a submarine pipe-line across it. It is, of course, the case that during the World

[1] "Britain and the British Seas," p. 20.

War transatlantic cables were cut by submarines; and, no doubt, in the event of war similar attempts would be made against a pipe-line. But the very conditions that facilitate the initial laying of the line should also facilitate its supervision and, if necessary, its repair. The main danger would seem likely to come from submarines lurking on the bottom watching an opportunity. The shoal waters on either side of the Irish Sea were during the World War a favourite scene for such action; and, assuredly, a new objective of such importance as the pipe-line would draw determined and persistent attack. This, however, is only applicable to a state of war and, as such, would have to be adequately guarded against.

Some important Side-lines

Allusion has already been made to two articles which appeared in this Review some years back on the present subject. It so happens that in each there is a definite sort of sub-project well calculated to enhance the economic importance of any such port. In the earlier of the two articles in question Sir John Griffith says: "A deep sea fishery harbour might be included in the western port, which, given proper equipment and up-to-date transit facilities, would place our west coast deep-sea fisheries in as favourable a position to the English markets as Aberdeen and Grimbsy provide for the North Sea fishing fleets." [1] Since then, it is interesting to note that just such a fishing harbour has been installed as an important component part of the equipment of Gdynia in Poland.

In Mr. MacAteer's article a suggestion was made to this effect: "The further possibility of diverting merchandise traffic to a Port of Call (in this case Bantry) by the establishment at it of a Free Port deserves full and careful consideration." Now, it is to be borne in mind that Mr. MacAteer, writing some seven years ago, was dealing with the situation as regards what we have called a "liner" port. But if, as in the present case, it is primarily a cargo port that is contemplated, then the arguments in favour of a Free Port become

[1] *loc. cit.* p. 371.

all the more convincing. "The large American exports to Europe might be more economically carried by being brought in bulk to a European depot which was guaranteed to be free from the imposition of tariffs or restrictions. Re-export in smaller coasting vessels, unsuitable for Atlantic crossings, would give a ready means of supply to European ports and markets. On the other hand, merchandise destined for American ports could be sent to the Free Port by the European exporters to await cheap cargo space going to North America. Such use of a Free Port would depend mainly on its convenient geographical position . . . " [1]

These two "side-lines," as one might call them, would seem to be factors well worth exploring, from the point of view of return freights. In this direction they both seem to possess distinct and serious possibilities.

GALWAY THE ONLY CHOICE

Up to the present we have expressly used the phrase "an Irish port," but when it comes to the point of selecting the port in question there is really not much room for discussion: Galway would seem to be an almost automatic choice. In this context it must be emphasised that it is a question of a transatlantic port "new style." Whereas there were quite a number of arguments in favour of alternative ports when the main desideratum was to cater for luxury liners, in the altered conditions, now alone suitable to be considered, there is no such alternative. On all counts Galway is definitely the most desirable choice.

And first as to "turn-round" or, at least, as to the physical manoeuvre involved therein. "The approach from the ocean to this deep and spacious inlet is easy and well defined, while the magnificent natural breakwater of the Isles of Aran serves as a barrier against the heavy swell of the Atlantic ocean. The shores are moderately steep-to, and there is no danger near the fairway until within four miles of Mutton Island light in Galway harbour." [2] The extreme accessibility of

[1] *loc. cit.* p. 187.
[2] "The Irish Coast Pilot," Eighth Edition, 1930.

Galway is a most potent argument in its favour: it is really a question of the open ocean, as opposed to a tortuous artificial port a score of miles or more up an estuary. In war, of course, the advantage of high-speed approach and high-speed get-away is incalculable. It is not easy to name off-hand any other port as advantageously gifted naturally in this particular respect.

Not only is the physical facility for "turn-round" remarkable in the case of Galway; but there is a further speeding-up by reason of the nearness of this port to the sources of supply on the other side of the Atlantic. From New York to Liverpool is a distance of some 3,052 nautical miles; from New York to Galway the distance is 2,730—a saving of 322. A fair average speed for a merchant vessel is 12 knots an hour, which gives us a one-way saving of twenty-seven hours—as near as no matter. This is quite considerable, being a matter of well over 10%. It is, of course, true that any western Irish port would afford a more or less similar saving; but none has any advantage over Galway in this respect.

There is further the *situation* of Galway—centrally placed between the two great traffic lanes round Ireland, *i.e.* the north-about and the south-about and practically equidistant from the Clyde, from Liverpool, and from the Bristol Channel. In this respect Galway possesses an automatic advantage over any other Irish port: for what any alternative port gains in respect of one end of the hinterland expanse it inevitably loses in respect of the other end. The advantage is equally marked in the east-west direction: Galway Bay bites into Ireland for well over a degree of latitude, and this takes place where the country is narrowest and where there is no real obstacle to travel across it. No railway in Ireland, for the same expenditure of either time or money, could be improved as much as the Galway-Dublin line. The laying of a pipe-line parallel to this line would be an easy matter. Moreover, this pipe-line—running roughly east from Galway would strike the Irish Sea where it is narrowest and shoalest, thus finding the most favourable situation for the submarine continuation already alluded to.

Galway, finally, possesses a number of other minor but by no means negligible advantages—an aerodrome at Oranmore capable of considerable development, proximity—at Athenry—to one of the only two veritable lateral railways in Ireland *i.e.* that from Limerick to Sligo, etc. Altogether, indeed, the claims of Galway are obvious and outstanding.

Conclusion

The present article has deliberately treated of the subject of a great transatlantic port in the most general terms. Highly technical questions such as actual siting of harbour installations, costs, etc., have been left alone. There is, however, one aspect to which reference must be made, as being quite inextricably bound up with the very idea of such a port—*i.e.* the question of its defence both by land and sea. It is simply common-sense to assume that a port of this character and importance—a port, moreover, of relatively great wartime importance—would be attacked unless solidly defended.

There is not in this, however, any ground for serious alarm. From the point of view of land defence the nature of the topography is such as to facilitate this in a remarkable degree : even a cursory examination of the map will suffice to convince anyone of this. Nor would the presence of a naval force, based on the port, entail any additional harbour facilities of any kind. Whatever harbour organisation or material is adequate for the needs of commercial shipping is also available for the needs of purely naval vessels : it would be a question of maintenance only, not of construction.

J. J. O'Connell

THOMAS FITZSIMONS

Framer of the American Constitution

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THE Constitution as framed in the Convention held in Philadelphia, May 25 to September 17, 1787, and as ratified with proposed amendments (later incorporated in the form of a Bill of Rights) by eleven of the thirteen states during a critical campaign of two years, established the federal system of government under which the United States has prospered for one hundred and fifty years. This experiment in representative democracy proved a permanent success, and the government of the new America has become in point of years one of the oldest continuous governments on the face of the globe, and one which proudly can celebrate the sesquicentennial of the framing of its Constitution, which was described a quarter of a century ago by the scholarly editor of the *Records of the Federal Convention* in prophetic words :—

> Neither a work of divine origin, nor " the greatest work that was ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man " [Gladstone's dictum], but a practical, workable document is this Constitution of the United States. Planned to meet certain immediate needs and modified to suit the exigencies of the situation, it was floated on a wave of commercial prosperity, and it has been adapted by an ingenious political people to meet the changing requirements of a century and a quarter.[1]

Nor were the framers of this fundamental covenant demigods, as Thomas Jefferson enthusiastically described them. They were very human men of substantial experience, sectional partisanship, personal ambitions and diverse social backgrounds. Some of them were recent immigrants, and of the immigrants four were natives of Ireland : William Paterson of New Jersey, who was born at sea of Irish parentage ; James

[1]All notes will be found at the end of the article.

McHenry of Maryland, a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army; Pierce Butler, a planter of South Carolina, who boasted of noble lineage; and Thomas Fitzsimons or Fitzsimmons, a merchant of Pennsylvania. Of the thirty-nine actual signers of the Constitution among the fifty-five framers, two were Roman Catholics, although at that time the Catholic element counted less than one per cent. of the total white population: Daniel Carroll, a manorial figure in Maryland, and Fitzsimons, concerning whom little has been written and that in a somewhat emotional and confused manner.[2]

Fitzsimons undoubtedly was born in Ireland in 1741, possibly in Limerick but far more probably in County Wicklow, where in the village of Tubber his twin sister, Ann, married a Scotsman, Peter Maitland. In his early years in Ireland, he must have acquired a reasonably sound education from some unchronicled master of a hedge school, for Colonel Meade described him as "a young Irishman who, by his talents, energy and patriotism for his adopted country, rose to great eminence in the councils of the nation and the state."[3] In the company of his family, he migrated to Philadelphia at least as early as 1760, for in that year the youthful Thomas was a baptismal sponsor in St. Joseph's Church[4] for Thomas and Esther Allen and for James Nihill. Of his father virtually nothing is known save the entry of his name on the subscription list for the erection of St. Mary's Church. Nor is authentic information available concerning his brothers, two of whom (or at least men of their names) were buried in the graveyard of St. Peter's Episcopal Church; although that interment of itself would then signify little, for it was not until later that the Fitzsimonses and other Catholics assessed themselves for a cemetery to be attached to St. Mary's Church: Nicholas (1732-1784), who is entombed in the same grave with a son Norris (1764-1772); John (1746-1795), who served on the sea during the Revolution and whose estate was administered by Thomas in 1803-5; and Andrew, who apparently was an associate in Fitzsimons's various ventures, for he was identified as his land agent in distant South Carolina in 1788.

On his arrival in Philadelphia, Thomas entered a mercantile

house as a clerk and rose rapidly after his marriage on November 23, 1761 (or possibly 1763) to Catherine Meade, a daughter of the late Robert Meade, a refugee from Limerick *via* the West Indies as early as 1742, who had amassed a respectable fortune in the Barbadian trade. On the elder Meade's death in 1754, his business was conducted under the firm name of George and Garrett Meade and Company until Garrett's death in 1770, when this brokerage and shipping concern was reorganized as George Meade and Company with Fitzsimons as an active partner. The Meades were not only a wealthy and well-connected Irish family, but they were destined to be distinguished in later American history through George's son, Commodore Richard Meade of the United States Navy, and through the latter's son, General George Gordon Meade, the famous hero of the decisive Battle of Gettysburg (1863) and one of the most conspicuous generals in the federal forces in the War between the States.[6] At any rate the young immigrant was rapidly making his way in a changing America, where youth was gaining control and leading headlong in the direction of civil war and revolution while older and more substantial men were hesitating or refusing to follow. It was a young man's era, and one in which an Irishman's hostility to England was a political asset.

In conformity with the group consciousness of the strong Irish element in Philadelphia, young Fitzsimons was concerned deeply enough in the affairs of Ireland and in the fortunes of incoming thousands of Irishmen to join, in 1771, with a few of his co-religionists and a number of Presbyterian and Protestant Irishmen in the foundation of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, which included in its roll call a half-dozen generals of the Revolution as well as such figures as President John Nesbitt, Stephen and Jasper Moylan, William Mitchell, and George Washington as an honorary member (1781).[7] At this time Irish immigration had reached considerable proportions due to the decline of business in Ireland, the failure of the linen trade, the politico-religious persecution of Presbyterians, and the evictions from the Marquis of Donegal's estates in Ulster. As many as 4,000 souls per year were

leaving Belfast alone; and 101 ships carrying approximately 30,000 people left the ports of Ulster for America in 1771-1773. In a few years fully 50,000 came from all Ireland to the American plantations, and Philadelphia was the favoured port of debarkation.[8] In their poverty and ignorance of colonial conditions, these arrivals required counsel far more than relief from this philanthropic and social organization of local Irish leaders of all persuasions, some of whom were obviously rising in the affairs of the province according to a letter written by Benjamin Franklin, in 1784, which stated that it was "a Fact that the Irish emigrants and their children are now in Possession of the Government of Pennsylvania by their Majority in the Assembly, as well as of a great Part of the Territory; and I remember well the first Ship that brought any of them over."[9]

The colony of Pennsylvania, although politically dominated by Anglicans and Quakers some of whom traced a descent to Ireland,[10] granted a greater degree of religious toleration to non-conformists and recusants than did any other American plantation; yet the suffrage was narrowly limited to property-holders who subscribed to a test oath framed by a law of 1702 which no orthodox Catholic could take in conscience.[11] Therefore, like his co-religionists, Fitzsimons had no opportunity for civic service until the stirring years of the Revolution, when various restrictions and inhibitions were abolished or relaxed. He displayed a warm interest in the patriotic uprising against the governmental machine of the absentee lord proprietor and against the British connection. Indubitably he had taken part in the merchant's opposition to the Stamp Act and even in the tumultuous activities of the younger mob of "liberty boys."

The first reference, however, to his patriotic endeavours is in connection with a meeting of young radicals at the City Tavern, May 20, 1774, when he was named a member of their Committee of Correspondence which called a general meeting of citizens at the State House. In June, he was associated with a committee of forty-four members who were to ascertain the provincial attitude concerning the selection of quasi-

official delegates who would correspond with similar patriotic committees in other colonies. Nothing came of this project, probably because of the inherent conservatism of the ruling provincial groups of Anglicans and Quakers which included no small percentage of the more substantial merchants. Later in the same month, another committee met at Philosophers' Hall and named a Committee of Inspection and a Council of Safety.

In the meantime, Fitzsimons had been active in the collection of money in the shipping yards for the relief of Boston whose port had been closed to commerce as a punitive measure to tame its rebellious citizens. A delegate at Carpenters' Hall, July 15, he joined in the resolution to cease " all trade, commerce and dealing with any colony or city or town which will refuse or neglect to adopt the resolves of Congress," that is the Association Act. In August of 1776, he was elected a member of the Council of Safety on the Mechanics' ticket, which would indicate that his liberal views were appreciated by the growing labouring class ; although he does not appear to have taken his seat until December after a subsequent appointment.

In 1776, Fitzsimons organized and commanded a company of militia in the regiment lead by Colonel John Cadwallader and Lieutenant Colonel John Nixon whose grandfather had been a Catholic migrant from Wexford. His company saw some slight service in the New Jersey campaign, occupying Bristol and Burlington while the battles at Trenton and Princeton were being waged. On January 3, 1777, this militia unit returned to Philadelphia ; and Fitzsimons' service, thereafter, was of a civil nature.[12] While obviously no violent and unreasoning partisan, for at personal disadvantage he sought to save some Quaker Tories from severe punishment in 1778, he was appointed on April 3, 1777 to a seat on the Naval Board by the Supreme Executive Council of the State which superseded the old Council of Safety. In this capacity he actively directed the construction of fire ships to protect the city from English ships cruising in the Delaware River and supervised the collection of military equipment. Nor was George

Meade and Company less patriotic than its junior partner, for it supplied the French Fleet with provisions and also entered into the dangerous but lucrative privateering business with several ships, as did a score of other local sea captains and merchants with Irish names.[13] Toward the end of the war, it subscribed $5,000 towards a collection for the immediate needs of the army.

On March 3, 1779, Fitzsimons was elected an overseer of the poor, whose plight was difficult and growing worse in these war-years of inflated currency, rising prices, and general stagnation of business and trade. With characteristic energy, he engaged in public relief and entered a hopeless campaign to enforce regulations against speculation in the necessaries of life while his partner was protesting price-fixing of merchandize.

An intelligent merchant, he was naturally a proponent of hard money at a time when demagogues were inciting the mob with demands for more paper money to supplement the almost worthless continental currency as a panacea for all the economic evils under which the poor suffered. In 1781 Fitzsimons joined with his partner in subscribing $10,000 of stock in America's first bank, the still existing Bank of North America, on whose board of directors he served until 1803 when he resigned to become president of the Insurance Company of North America.[14] Incidentally a third of the bank's capital of $300,000 was paid in by twenty-seven members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.[15] It was at this time that he became a member of the Hibernia Fire Company, which no doubt increased his political contacts, for such organizations were quite as much political machines as efficient extinguishers of fires.

After the adoption of the Articles of Confederation by the thirteen rebel states and the establishment of a legalized and constitutional form of government (1781) in place of the revolutionary *de facto* central government, Fitzsimons was elected a representative from Philadelphia to the new Congress in 1782 and served one year. He took part in the debates, and his sound monetary views commanded respect. A man of business integrity who believed in a balanced budget, " he

had a strong sense of solvency, and on the floor of Congress he reprobated the conduct of that body for their facility in contracting debts they had not the means of paying." He also proposed a scheme for the redemption of outstanding paper money and the issuance of certificates to be apportioned among the states as part of the public debt which won the support of Alexander Hamilton, the youthful financier and conservative statesman, who thereafter maintained a close political relationship with Fitzsimons and depended to a considerable degree upon his counsel in commercial and financial matters.

In Congress Fitzsimons opposed any disclosures as to Benjamin Franklin's negotiations with Congress concerning the British merchants' debts, and he argued that Virginia was unable to pay these debts; whereupon he was made a member of a committee of three to confer about these debts, which were recognized in the Treaty of Paris of 1783 but which were never actually paid in full by American importers. In Congress he urged an import duty which would enable the central government to be self-supporting and which would protect American agriculture and projected industries; but the imposition of such a tariff required an amendment to the Articles of Confederation, which in turn demanded a unanimous vote of all the states. Little Rhode Island stood out against such an amendment, which might have transformed the Articles of Confederation into a workable instrument of government. Fitzsimons was a member of the committee to reply to Rhode Island, and he was also a proponent of the view, if not a contributing author, that: "It is not, however, to be inferred that the whole revenue ought to be drawn from imposts; all extremes are to be rejected. The chief thing to be attended to is, that the weight of the taxes fall not too heavily, in the first instance, upon particular parts of the community. A judicious distribution of all kinds of taxable property is a first principle of taxation. The tendency of these observations is only to show that taxes on possessions, on articles of our own growth and manufacture, are more prejudicial to trade than duties on imports."[16]

James Madison's papers noted under February 20, 1783 : "The evening of this day was spent at Mr. Fitzsimmons by Mr. Gorham, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Peters, Mr. Carroll and Mr. Madison." Fitzsimons held a conservative position upon the questions of revenue and the army, there being a general concurrence on revenue save Hamilton. Hamilton and Peters, who best knew the temper of the army, informed the gathering that the army had decided not to be disbanded until the matter of their arrears in pay was determined agreeably. Fitzsimons laboured strenuously but vainly to induce the government to pay the soldiers' arrears before their demobilization ; and years later, in a letter dated 30 January, 1788 to General Irvine, he maintained that, "if at the close of the war Congress had shown a proper spirit, our affairs now must have worn a different aspect."[17]

On retirement from the national Congress, Fitzsimons laboured successfully to establish his own shipping and mercantile establishment in the critical years of economic depression following the war. In 1784 he severed his connection with Meade and Company, which was said to have lost £30,000 sterling in the three years preceding 1785, but still stood vigorous enough to warrant the offer of Barclay's of London to loan £10,000.[18] It was at this time that he befriended William Seaton,[19] cashier of the Bank of New York, who came to him armed with a letter from Hamilton.

However, Fitzsimons continued to serve his community and state. On October 14, 1783, he was elected with Samuel Miles, over the famous scientist David Rittenhouse, a member of the Pennsylvania Board of Censors whose chief function was to inquire as to whether the state Constitution had been upheld and maintained by the officers of government. Nor did he hesitate to support the unpopular and moderate view that efforts made to regulate the prices of commodities were absurdly impossible when paper money was depreciating to the vanishing point in terms of gold. As early as 1779 he and two other Catholics, George Meade and James White, were among the moderate Whigs who founded the "Republican Society" to promote the amendment of the state Constitution of 1776

which had been drafted by the radical Whigs and which guaranteed universal suffrage, apportioned representation on the basis of the number of taxable persons, eliminated religious qualifications save a belief in Christianity for office-holders, and established an ineffective multiple executive and a unicameral legislature. Hence it was natural that he should become a member of a committee, on 4 June, 1784, to consider whether the constitution should be revised. With the rising strength of conservatives, now called Federalists, this was accomplished in 1790 with the adoption of a new constitution which insured complete religious toleration, established an elective governorship and a bicameral legislature, revised the bill of rights defining the privileges rather than the rights of citizenship, and provided for a supreme court whose judges were appointed by the governor for life or good behaviour. The conservatives, of whom Fitzsimons was a leader, had won their long campaign, and they gave the state a constitution which served satisfactorily until 1838, when it was somewhat modified.[20]

On April 13, 1785, Fitzsimons was selected by the State Supreme Council as one of five commissioners to meet with representatives from Maryland and Delaware to consider the improvement of their joint waterways. In 1786 he was elected one of five delegates to the General Assembly for the district of Philadelphia with a vote of 1,516, as compared to the two more popular candidates William Will with 2,433 votes and Robert Morris, the outstanding financier of the Revolution, with 1,604. A year later he was supported by the Friends of Equal Liberty, who appreciated his advocacy in the legislature of the abolition of the test laws (1777, 1778) which disfranchised and persecuted the late Tories, whose estates and properties were confiscated and sold at public auction as late as 1790—some of them to provide endowment for the University of Pennsylvania.[21] At any rate, he was re-elected to the next session with 1,507 votes, and the following year with 2,013.[22] Quite consistently, he continued to advance the conservative doctrine of protection as a means of promoting American trade and infant industries.

Never an extremist, Fitzsimons grew more moderate in his political views as the country at large became more conservative. There was fear of the mob, of mobocracy, and of disorders such as Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts; there was a recognition that a stronger central government than that provided by Congress under the Articles of Confederation was necessary to maintain domestic tranquillity and promote trade and prosperity. In the eyes of conservative men the Confederation had obviously failed. Conservatives or Federalists were becoming insistent that a new scheme of centralized government would alone preserve the integrity and union of the thirteen associated and sovereign republics. The era of the revolutionary radical had passed. And in the Federalist ranks, Fitzsimons was naturally engaged in forwarding the movement which finally lead to the calling of the Constitutional Convention, which was destined to make no revision of the faulty Articles of Confederation but to re-write a new Constitution under which the states would delegate such sovereign powers as were essential to provide a strongly centralized Federal Government.

Other than Virginia no state named abler delegates to this Constitutional Convention than those elected by the Assembly of Pennsylvania: Benjamin Franklin, General Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, and Thomas Fitzsimons, who was fifth on the list on the basis of votes. Of this delegation Fitzsimons was one of the more active in the business of the Convention, which he attended as early as its first session of May 25 when a quorum of members finally appeared.[23] He was noticed by William Pierce, an obscure but rather conceited member from Georgia, who took pains to jot down his impressions of fellow-members: "Mr. Fitzsimons is a merchant of considerable talents, and speaks very well, I am told, in the Legislature of Pennsylvania. He is about 40 years old." In the debates, "Mr. Wilson cited Pennsylvania as proof of the advantage of encouraging emigration. It was the youngest settlement except Georgia, yet foremost in population and prosperity. He remarked that almost all of the general officers of the late

war in the Pennsylvania lines were foreigners; no complaint could be made about their fidelity. Three of her deputies to the Convention (Mr. Morris, Mr. Fitzsimons and himself) were not natives."

In the Convention Fitzsimons did not favour universal suffrage, but supported a freehold qualification—no doubt because of the growing fear of radicalism and of the mob in these trying years. It is not likely, as an owner of two slaves, that he was much concerned about slavery or slave-importation.[24] On the question of presidential power of making treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate, he followed the democratic Wilson in support of a lost motion which would give the Lower House an equal voice with the Upper in this matter. When matters of importance in the way of commerce were under consideration, Fitzsimons's voice was given attention, and he was appointed by ballot to an important committee to consider the whole matter of commerce, imports, exports, ports of entry, uniformity of imposts, restraints of trade, and the elimination of inter-state dues. He safeguarded the commercial interests of Philadelphia, declaring in an argument with Madison that it would be a great inconvenience to require vessels bound for that city to enter below the jurisdiction of the state, and he favoured granting Congress the power "to erect piers for protection of shipping in winter and to preserve the navigation of harbors." Fitzsimons believed that it was "absolutely impossible to publish expenditure in the fullest sense of the term"; but he was willing to accept Sherman's compromise that federal expenditure be published "from time to time"—this being a democratic advance over other lands.

In the discussion as to whether the completed document should be referred to the old Congress, as Hamilton considered proper, Fitzsimons shrewdly remarked that this submission had been vetoed in order that Congress would not be asked to sanction an act inconsistent with the Articles of Confederation under which it acted. He realized the difficulty of obtaining the approbation of a body which would thereby be hurrying its own demise and also the inconsistency of asking

Congress to approve the work of a Convention whose members had bravely written a new Constitution instead of amending the Articles of Confederation according to their instructions as drafted in their various state legislatures. The Constitution, it was decided, should be referred to the states for ratification in state conventions.

In the Assembly of Pennsylvania there was a militant minority which tried in vain to prevent or, at least, to delay the calling of a ratifying convention despite the Federalist arguments of Clymer and the exhortations of Fitzsimons who declared: "I am sure it is not in our power to prevent the people from adopting what may be a lasting benefit to themselves and a certain treasure to posterity. But I think that taking the lead in this business will be an honor not only to this legislature but to the State also."

The convention was called. The local units throughout the state elected delegates in a sharp campaign between Federalists, who favoured the Constitution, and Anti-Federalists, who feared its centralization of authority and its conservative character. Fitzsimons was more than an interested onlooker, but he apparently was not a candidate. At any rate, he was not one of the delegates, of whom at least five were Irish-born and some twelve others of Scotch-Irish stock. The Convention assembled on November 21, 1787, and after spirited debates the Constitution was forced through by a vote of 46 to 23 on December 13, 1787—but not without suggested amendments.[25] Thus Pennsylvania as the second state came under "the roof," as ratification was popularly described. On July 4, 1788, when ten states had ratified the Constitution, there was a celebration of Independence in Philadelphia with a procession, including the military organizations and representatives of eighty-eight trades and professions with Fitzsimons, mounted on a horse which was said to have belonged to General Rochambeau, carrying the ensigns of the United States and of France of the Bourbons.

The new government established, Fitzsimons was elected, in 1788, a representative in the Lower House of Congress from Philadelphia, to which he was returned in the succeeding

elections of 1790 and 1792. It was as a member of Congress that he joined with Bishop John Carroll, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a member of the Senate of the United States, Daniel Carroll, a fellow representative in Congress, and Dominick Lynch, a wealthy merchant of New York in a congratulatory but not effusive address on behalf of their fellow Catholic citizens to Washington on his accession to the presidency, as other organizations and denominations were then doing. To this Washington replied graciously in kind but not without a suggestion of warning.[26]

In Congress Fitzsimons was a consequential if not a powerful leader, despite the rather disapproving and not unprejudiced picture of him by that Yankee Federalist, Fisher Ames, who didn't approve of Irishmen, Catholic or otherwise: "He is supposed to understand trade, and he assumes some weight in such matters. He is plausible though not overly civil; is artful, has a glaring eye, a down look, speaks low and with an apparent candor and coolness."[27] He was rather consistently an administration man as a Federalist who was made somewhat reactionary by the excesses of French Jacobinism—which, like all good Washingtonians, he regarded as a blood-brother of Jeffersonian Republicanism. At all times he was a dependable supporter of Hamilton, who profited by his advice upon monetary and commercial matters; but, unlike Hamilton, he did not believe in a permanent national debt. As early as April of 1789, when James Madison introduced a tariff bill for revenue only, Fitzsimons urged a permanent protective tariff, which has caused some enthusiastic writers to label him the Father of the American tariff. He did urge that, unless men were willing to divorce themselves from local conditions, little progress could be made.

Fitzsimons, as a strong proponent of the National Bank and a rather violent opponent of the Scotch-Irish Whiskey Rebellion in Western Pennsylvania, won for himself the hatred of anti-Federalists and the new Republican faction headed by Jefferson and Madison. Indeed, Jefferson in 1793 wrote disparagingly to Madison: "The merchants—*i.e.* Fitzsimons

& Co.—were to present an address to the President on the neutrality proclamation. It contained much wisdom but no affection."[28] A friend of John Jay and no critic of his unpopular treaty with England, he had served as one of two commissioners in 1794 on a commission to ascertain the losses of British merchants, which it was anticipated would be liquidated under that agreement. Nor was it surprising that Republicans fought hard against Fitzsimons in his campaign for re-election to Congress in 1794, when he was defeated by John Swanwick (1740-1798), a merchant, a poet, and a non-Catholic who had been a friend of the Jesuit Fathers Ferdinand Farmer and Robert Molyneux and who was strangely enough a pew-holder of St. Mary's Church.[29] Madison in exultation could write to Jefferson about the election in Pennsylvania: "The election, notwithstanding its inauspicious circumstances, is more republican than the last. Nine at least out of thirteen are counted on the right side; among them Swanwick in the room of Fitzsimmons—a stunning change for the aristocracy."[30]

Out of Congress Fitzsimons was hardly less active in public affairs and Federalist councils where either politics or business were concerned. He contributed some material on financial subjects to the *American Museum* published by Matthew Carey, an Irish rebel of the old *Freeman's Journal* and of the *Volunteers' Journal*, who since his arrival in Philadelphia with £12 in his pocket was rapidly becoming America's largest bookseller and a pamphleteer in favour of protection. In 1799 Fitzsimons was in correspondence with Timothy Pickering and through him with Rufus King, the American minister in London, as well as with Oliver Wolcott, Hamilton's successor in the Treasury, concerning the suspensions of sessions by the Board of Commissioners on British Debts (of which he was one) and the necessity of urging President Adams to protect American commerce in the West Indies from the seizures and searches of ships by England and especially by France.[31] His own losses were heavy in the illicit French attacks upon American commerce, and thereafter he joined from time to time such commercial leaders as Stephen Girard,

Morris, Joseph Ball, and James Coxe in memorializing Congress on French spoliations and the merchants' claims thereunder.

Necessity was driving American capital to countries east of Cape of Good Hope, and Fitzsimons urged that there was little hope of activity in the West Indies until capital returned and peace was restored. A friend of Thomas Pinckney's candidacy for the presidency, he was fearful of Jefferson's election in 1800, and like many orthodox Federalists he was no warm admirer of President Adams: "I really know not whether we shall be much worse off with him than with the present man [Adams]; we have to fear from either the destruction of our government. It is a truth, and a melancholy one too, that the government of this country cannot be carried on without attaching it to one of the two parties."[32] Federalism was languishing in Pennsylvania, and Fitzsimons saw no worthy candidate for Congress from Philadelphia. Yet he obviously had no desire to sacrifice himself.

Hostile to Jacobinism and uninterested in the Men of 1798, who settled in Philadelphia, he was rather pro-English and hence saddened that England remained aloof and suspicious when she had so much to gain in trade and in international affairs from American co-operation. Yet he was big enough to cast aside his own politics and material interest for what might be the national welfare:—

> If the British restrict our trade, let us meet them with restrictions on our part; and if we cannot find employment for our capital in commerce, let us employ it in either agriculture or manufactures. Attached as I am to commerce, I would rather see it abandoned than be dependent on any European nation; I am persuaded, however, that if we had a firm administration and were in any degree united among ourselves, we could make terms that would leave scope for our enterprize and preserve our independence . . . . If our affairs fall into the hands of Jefferson, our humiliation will be complete . . . . Indolence or avarice seems to have rendered the great majority of this people unfit for popular government.[33]

Fitzsimons spoke as a despondent Federalist. Curiously enough practically all early Catholics were Federalists despite that party's nativist tendencies, whereas later Irishmen, com-

mencing with the exiles of 1798, were Jeffersonian Republicans and more liberal in their political outlook.

The Chamber of Commerce of Philadelphia must have approved of his views, for it elected him president in 1801. However, his business affairs were going badly. Partially as a result of the Republican commercial policies but chiefly because of obligations of about $150,000 incurred on behalf of Morris and other land speculators, Fitzsimons became insolvent in 1805. He is said to have been given 1,204,941 acres of wild land as a liquidation of the loan. To what extent he was engaged in the prevalent speculation in western lands is not known ; but he was host at dinner in 1807 to the famous Daniel Clark (1766-1813) of New Orleans, a delegate to Congress from Louisiana and a native of Sligo, who was one of the wealthiest speculators in the Southwest.[34]

Losses were recouped in part, but never did Fitzsimons regain his financial standing. He distrusted Jefferson and all his policies : the Non-Intercourse and Embargo Acts as " unjust, impolitic and oppressive " and, from the point of coercion, as " weak, inefficient, and useless." Hence it was not strange that he gave a testimonial dinner to that arch-Federalist, Timothy Pickering, in 1808 ; that in 1809 he headed a committee of merchants to memorialize Congress against the Embargo; or that in 1811 he was associated with Girard, then the wealthiest merchant-shipper in America, in a petition to Congress to recharter the National Bank, the " great monster " to good Democrats. However, he had deeper interests than trade and merely worldly affairs.

Fitzsimons was a builder of the Church in Philadelphia as a trustee of St. Mary's Church ; as the largest single contributor on a list, which included the name of President Washington, for the erection of St. Augustine's Church, which had a carpenter-architect from Dublin and a series of Irish Augustinian pastors ; as counsel for the Germans in the procurement of an act of incorporation for their church ; and as a collector of funds for Georgetown College in Maryland founded by Bishop Carroll in 1789.[35] Nor was he less a civic leader : as a proponent of public education, a trustee of the secular College of Phila-

delphia, later the University of Pennsylvania (1789-1811), and a member of the Board of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

Greater grief than financial difficulties clouded his declining days. His only sister died on May 8, 1808, and was interred in St. Mary's graveyard. Two years later, June 20, 1810, his wife died,[36] leaving him childless and lonely in the care of his housekeeper, a daughter of Michael Morgan O'Brien, a West Indian merchant of Philadelphia who had been American consul in Paris. A year later, August 26, Fitzsimons died, attended by Bishop Michael Egan, and was buried beside his wife—near the Meades, Commodore Barry, and Colonel Stephen Moylan.

A business man of sound judgment, of agreeable social graces, and of political integrity, he merited the appraisal of a local historian: "To have been a counsellor and advisor of Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, etc.; the coadjutor of Robert Morris in what vitally concerned not only the present safety but the future prosperity of these United States, is fame that few men of these times could aspire to, and yet is nothing more than may with justice be claimed for Thomas Fitzsimmons."[37] Nor was the obituary exaggerated :—

"Few such men have lived or died in any country. He was justly considered one of the most enlightened and intelligent merchants in the United States, and his opinion upon all questions connected with commerce was always regarded with respect, and even homage, by the mercantile part of the community . . . In private life he was eminently useful. Hundreds in various occupations owe their establishment in business to his advice and good offices. His friendships were steady, ardent and disinterested. He possessed uncommon firmness of mind upon all occasions except one, and that was when his friends solicited favour of him. From his inability to resist the importunities of distress, he suffered a reverse of fortune in the evening of his life. Even in this situation his mind retained its native energy and his heart its native goodness, and hence it may be truly said, after many and great losses, he died rich in the esteem, affection and gratitude of all classes of his fellow citizens."[38]

RICHARD J. PURCELL

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[1] Max Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States*, (1913) 210.

[2] Fitzsimons left no descendant few papers and no known portrait; and he had no biographer beyond writers of sketchy biographical notes of uneven merit: Henry Flanders in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II (1878) 306 ff.; J. A. Farrell in

the fortieth volume of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical* (Records), Sept. 1928; A. E. Martin in *Dictionary of American Biography* (D.A.B.) 6 (1931) 444; M. I. J. Griffin in *Records*, II, (1887) 45 ff. which carries some useful annotations.

[3] George Meade, *Life and Letters of General George Gordon Meade*, I, (1913) 2.

[4] Erected in 1733 by the Jesuits. It was probably the only legally established Catholic Church in the empire.

[5] *Penn. Evening Post*, October 26, 1803.

[6] For biographical sketches of the several Meades, see Captain R. W. Meade in *Records*, III, 193 ff., *Catholic Historical Researches*, VI, 98 ff., and *D.A.B.*, XII, 473, 474, 477, 478, 479 (with bibliographies).

[7] J. H. Campbell, *History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and of the Hibernian Society of Philadelphia* (1892); James Haltigan, *The Irish in the American Revolution* (1908) 165ff. *Journal of American Irish Historical Society*, IX, 204. For an account of Stephen Moylan see *Studies*, September 1930.

[8] *Historical Collections Relative to the Town of Belfast from the Earliest Period to the Union with Great Britain* (Belfast, 1817) 111 ff.; *Shamrock* (New York) August 31, 1811, quoting *Essex Register*; Hanna *op. cit.* I, 621; An Englishman, *Thoughts on the Present State of the Linen Trade* (London, 1774).

[9] A. H. Smyth (ed.) *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, IX (1907) 264.

[10] A. C. Myers, *Immigration of Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania*, 1682-1750 (1902).

[11] C. J. Stillé, "Religious Texts in Provincial Pennsylvania" in *Penn. Mag. of History and Biography*, IX, 365 ff.

[12] *Penn. Archives*, Second Series 14 (1888), 769-70, Sixth Series 1 (1906), 183.

[13] *Colonial Records*, XI, 645; *Researches*, XXV, 2 ff. Fitzsimons and Co. is listed for a couple privateers. *Penn. Archives*, Fifth series, I, 61, 624.

[14] Lawrence Lewis, *A History of the Bank of North America* (1882), which contains a number of references to Fitzsimons.

[15] C. A. Hanna, *Scotch-Irish . . . . In North America*, I, (1902) 28.

[16] J. C. Hamilton (ed. *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, II, (1851) 221.

[17] Flanders, *op. cit.*, II, 306 ff.; H. D. Gilpin (ed.) *The Papers of James Madison*, I, (1841) 342 ff.

[18] Meade's sketch, *loc. cit.*

[19] His widow became Mother Seaton, the saintly foundress of the Sisters of Charity.

[20] W. F. Dunaway, *A History of Pennsylvania* (1935) 228.

[21] *Ibid.*, 217 ff.

[22] *Penn. Archives*, Sixth Series XI, 324 ff., 372.

[23] For this material: Max Farrand, *The Records of the Federal Convention* (1911) III, 91, 588; II, 269, 201, 538, 410, 362, 589, 420, 529, 619, 560; E. H. Scott (ed.) *Journal of the Constitutional Convention Kept by Madison* (1893), 53, 467, 508, 575, 647, 680, 695, 729, 763.

[24] *J. A. I.*, 29 (1931) 11.

[25] J. B. McMaster and F. D. Stone, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution* (1888) 28, 33, 39, 53, 65, 67, 69, 71, 82. Sketches of delegates, 699-761.

[26] Quoted, Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore* (1922) 365 ff. On March 15, 1790, J. C. Fitzpatrick (ed.) *Complete Diaries of Washington*, IV, 102, "Received an Address from the Roman Catholics of the United States, presented by Mr. Carroll of the Senate, and Mr. Carroll and Mr. Fitzsimons of the House of Representatives and many others, Inhabitants of the City of New York."

[27] Quoted with approval by the late Professor Henry Jones Ford of Princeton (later a convert to Catholicism) in *Washington and His Colleagues* (1921) 46.

[28] H. S. Randall, *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, III (1888), 117, 119, 139, 252.

[29] *Records*, XIII, 139.

[30] *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, II, (1865) 19, 26.

[31] Thomas Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrators of Washington and John Adams edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott*, II (1846), 262.

[32] *Ibid.*, 378, 388.

[33] *Ibid.* II, 388, 405, 444.

[34] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (1928), 814.

[35] *Records*, I, 166 ff., 351 ff., VI, 423, XXIV, 197. F. E. Tourscher, "Old St. Augustine's in Philadelphia" *Records*, 43: 220 ff.

[36] An obituary notice in *Portfolio*, November 1810.

[37] Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians now Deceased* (1859) 372.

[38] Relf's *Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, August 26, 28, 1811. Reprinted in *Federal Republican and Commercial Advertiser of Baltimore*, August 30, and in *Daily Advertiser and U.S. Gazette* (Philadelphia) August 29.

IRISH LINKS WITH BORDEAUX

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

FROM mediaeval days down to the close of the eighteenth century Bordeaux was one of those great continental towns which had many and varied associations with Ireland. There are indeed traditions, a little vague but sometimes resting on authentic fact, which suggest still earlier associations. As far back as the fifth century, for example, when Gaul was overrun by barbarian hordes, little groups of scholars fled from that country to Ireland, bringing with them the new learning of Greece and Rome. At the time the chief university centre of Gaul was Bordeaux, then known as *Burdigala*, and the place-name (no longer extant) of Bordgal in Westmeath and other Irish counties indicates the establishment there of a school of learning which, as Kuno Meyer states,[1] was so called after their last home by the fugitive scholars from beyond the seas. At that early period, too, there is evidence that Bordeaux sent the wine of its rich countrysides to the western and southern Irish shores. And later on, this direct trade became still more important from the impetus it received through the Norse settlements in our coast towns.

It is not, however, till the Norman invasion of Ireland that we begin to have authenticated records of these commercial relations. During three hundred years—from 1154 to 1453—the French province of Gascony with its chief town Bordeaux belonged to the kings of England and was often the scene of warring factions. In the middle of the thirteenth century chaos reigned there, and Henry the Third of England, threatened with its loss, commanded the Justiciary of Ireland "to induce barons, knights and others to come with horses

[1] Regarding early scholastic relations between Ireland and Bordeaux, I am indebted to Father Paul Walsh for sending me the following excerpt from Kuno Meyer's *Miscell. Hibernica*: "The name and fame of Burdigala as a great centre of learning and resort of students were so well known in ancient Ireland that *bordgal* became a general term for any famous place to which people resorted in large numbers. In that sense it is repeatedly used in Felire Oingusso. Thus Ephesus is called *an bordgal* (Dec. 27), and in Epil. 253 the same phrase refers, not (as Stokes took it) to St. Peter, but to *drong noebepscop Romae*, so that we may render by 'gathering, assembly' . . . "

and arms to meet him at Bordeaux." A few years later one finds the bailiffs of Drogheda sending "200 crans (barrels) of wheat and 100 bacons to Bordeaux for the King in Gascony." The troubled state of the province does not, however, seem to have prevented an active trade being carried on with Ireland; for, while Bordeaux merchants came with wines, spices and almonds, divers merchants of Drogheda and other towns were attached at the great French port. And entries like the following are numerous in the Patent Rolls, Pipe Rolls, etc. of the time:—

The King (Edward the First) to William, Justiciary of Ireland, the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, Dublin, and all his bailiffs and lieges in Ireland. The King had lately ordered that the wines and goods of merchants of Bordeaux coming to Ireland should be arrested; but, as he wished to render grace to John of London, citizen and merchant of Bordeaux, who had remained faithful to him, the King commands that when John or his men shall come to Ireland with wines or other merchandise, they shall be protected.

The King (Edward the Third) has received the complaint of Robert Droup (Drouper), mayor of Cork, and other merchants of that town that a certain ship was laded at Bordeaux with wine and other merchandise and jewels of gold and silver of the price of 2000 marks to be taken to Cork; but the masters and mariners of the ship, scheming to defraud those merchants of their goods, steered the ship on to the coast of Brittany at a place where they knew the King's enemies to be.

While an extension of inter-continental commerce followed the coming of the Normans to Ireland, it was not, even during the period of their dominance, exclusively confined to them. Trade was carried on, too, by the chiefs of the old race. Thus the Irish annals record how in the year 1234 Amlaidh O'Driscoll, Prince of Corcalaidhe, fell in battle fighting against the Normans at Tralee. He was known as Gaisgion O'Driscoll or the Gascon, and his descendants as Clann an Gascunaigh. The family tradition tells how a cargo of wine from Gascony was shipped from Bordeaux for Corcalaidhe, and that circumstances arose in which he was given as a pledge for its value. In the French province he became an expert in vine culture and, having returned to his native country, became in due course chief of his sept.

About the middle of the fourteenth century a national consciousness began to make its appearance again in Ireland; and, with the resurgence of the old race, the inter-continental traffic showed a steady increase for nearly two hundred years. The Pale and port towns had hitherto been almost exclusively in the hands of the Norman settlers, but now the native Irish became merchants once more, and began to function as officials in these places. Pilgrimages, too, became frequent to Rome and Compostella. Traders went direct to Bordeaux by sea for its annual fairs, while both pilgrims and traders, following the same route, continued their journey across Navarre through the pass of Roncevaux for the great fair of St. James' at Compostella.[1]. This intercourse reached its height towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when a decline began.

This decline was due partly to the turmoil caused by the Irish wars in the reign of Elizabeth and partly to the high duties placed by her government on the wool, flax, linen, tallow and other products that formed the main export to Bordeaux and continental ports. In the trade records of that city one reads about this time accounts, among many others of a similar kind, of a shipment of wine in 1521 for Richard Bouchier and John Glashin, merchants of Waterford; in 1532 of a like shipment for Richard Gould, mayor of Cork; in 1533 of a consignment to Patrick Meagh of Kinsale, as well as to Drogheda, Youghal and Dublin; and in 1561 John Barry, a Dingle merchant residing at Cork, acknowledges to Etienne du Bourg, merchant of Bordeaux, his debt of "36 seasonable cow-hides of the best kind in exchange for 3 tuns of wine." Despite the general commercial decline referred to, and although Spanish wines began at this period (1550) to come into Ireland, the trade with Bordeaux in claret did not abate, and large quantities of it were imported. The business continued to flourish down to the eighteenth century, as we

[1] Thus, regarding the O'Driscoll sept to which reference has been made above, the *Annals of the Four Masters* record for the year 1472 :—"O'Driscoll More died in his own house after having performed the pilgrimage of St. James' (Compostella), and his son Teigue died penitently one month after the death of his father, after having returned from the same pilgrimage."

know (for example) from the *Letters* of Lord Chesterfield, in which his Lordship comments on its enormous consumption by the hard-drinking squireens of his day. "Five thousand tuns of wine imported *communibus annis* into Ireland," he informs a friend in 1746, "is a sure but indecent proof of the excessive drinking of the gentry there." And in the following year he again writes: "Drinking is a most beastly vice in every country, but it is really a ruinous one in Ireland; nine gentlemen in ten in Ireland are impoverished by the great quantity of claret which, from mistaken notions of hospitality and dignity, they think it necessary should be drunk in their houses." Nor was this reckless drinking confined to the moneyed classes, as we learn from another contemporary writer, who asks whether a Frenchman would not give a shrug "at finding in every little inn Bordeaux claret, though in all likelihood not a morsel of Irish bread."

The latter half of the seventeenth century saw various hostile measures against Irish commerce passed by the English parliament. The export of cattle to England was prohibited, high duties were imposed on Irish wool and woollen goods, while export of the latter to the continent was forbidden. One result of the ban on cattle was that inter-continental traffic in beef was stimulated, while the ban on wool led to the filling of the creeks of the western and southern Irish shores with smugglers, who carried on a flourishing business with Bordeaux and other foreign ports. The adoption of special methods in the shipment of wool was necessary to deceive the official English searchers. It was packed in beef or herring barrels, and lead or shot was added to bring their weight up to the standard weight of beef-loaded barrels. The commercial records of Bordeaux for the time state that an Irish merchant named Boyd residing there, having brought 29 cwts. of lead and 22 cwts. of wool in 30 barrels to the city, explained to the Controller-General that, "in view of the impossibility of shipping wool from Ireland without disguise, its export being prohibited under penalty of death, it was essential to place lead in the barrels to give them the weight of salted beef." In the earlier half of the eighteenth century there was an immense exportation

to Bordeaux of this corned beef as well as of hides. The former commodity was intended for the use of sailors and the natives in the French colonies, where large quantities were consumed. Its average annual export amounted to half a million pounds in weight from Dublin, Waterford and Cork—the latter place enjoyed the reputation of being one of the first cities in Europe " for the packing, salting and barrelling of beef." A Bordeaux citizen writing at the time complains that a certain amount of fraud was associated with the trade : " The corned beef from Ireland," he states, " is much appreciated and rightly so. It is of the best quality, the richest and most free from fat ; and it is the least subject to trickery, provided it is not interfered with at a certain port which in charity I shall not name. At this place it is sometimes the custom to put in the barrels entire ox-heads with legs and feet, and instead of meat to substitute horse flesh with the irons still on the hooves." [1]

Notwithstanding these fraudulent practices, the trade continued to flourish till the later decades of the century, though various events, like the embargo placed by England in 1778 on the export of Irish provisions even when shipped in British vessels, dealt it serious blows. And, though the clarets of the great wine-growing country round Bordeaux did not cease to come into Ireland in large quantities, Irish commercial relations with that city became of less and less importance with the closing years of the eighteenth century.

. . . . .

The regime of Elizabeth and her successor on the English throne opened a new chapter in Ireland's relations with the continent. Proscription of the Catholic religion and confiscation following the uprisings against alien domination, which marked the reigns of these rulers, led to the flight into exile of many of the Irish nobility and clergy. In France and Spain they

[1] Bearing on these fraudulent practices, Latocnaye, the French traveller who wrote an account of his journeys through Ireland in 1797, relates a humorous conversation he had with a wine merchant in Galway. They were discussing the decay of trade in that town, and the merchant gave his opinion of its cause. " ' Wine was made here in Galway,' he said to me, ' before they knew how to make it in France.' ' What ! ' I said, ' surely there were never any wines in this country.' ' Neither were there,' said he, ' but the wine in France was the pure juice of the grape, and it was brought to Galway to render it drinkable. But now unfortunately the Bordeaux merchants know how to prepare it as well as we did, and this has ruined our trade.' "

found a refuge and friendly welcome. In 1568 a heroic effort was made by the illustrious James FitzMaurice, "Captain of his country," to weld together a confederacy of Geraldine and other chiefs from the factious Irish nobility. His dream was the achievement of an independent Ireland with foreign aid. To seek that aid he sent his kinsman, Maurice MacGibbon, Archbishop of Cashel, to Spain in 1569. MacGibbon was favourably received by the Spanish king, but an unfortunate series of events, arising out of the tangled Europe of the time, rendered his mission futile. In disappointment and with English spies tracking his footsteps, he set out for France. Shortly after he reached Bordeaux on his way to the French court, Viscount Decies wrote from Waterford to the Chief Justice in Dublin :—

> Certain merchants of Youghal were at Bordeaux within these thirteen days, who spake there with one Maurice Reagh, pretended archbishop of Cashel, who told them that he came from the King of Spain to the French King to have aid of men to come into Ireland, and reported there that the same was granted unto him, and that he would come into Ireland with a great number of Frenchmen and Spaniards with the first convenient wind and weather that would serve, and the merchants did see him rigging of ships and pressing of men there for that purpose as they say.

The effort of FitzMaurice ended in failure and in tragedy for his great house. Proscription and confiscation continued, religious houses were suppressed, and hostile legislation against the Catholic religion was intensified. Young Irishmen were forced to seek abroad the education banned at home, and in the latter years of the sixteenth century colleges for their ecclesiastical training were founded at Salamanca, Lisbon, Douai and elsewhere. In 1603 the foundation of one of these colleges, which was to function for two hundred years, was laid at Bordeaux. A few exiled Irish priests, headed by Father Dermot MacCarthy of Muskry, landed in that city and were generously supported for some time by its clergy and citizens. Within a few years its Cardinal-Archbishop presented them with a residence and, in addition, with the church of St. Eutropius for their exclusive use. The *Calendar of State Papers* (*Ireland*) of the period has in its pages occasional

references to the little Irish community. A document for the year 1607 gives the " examination " of John Flevin, a priest who was arrested at Cork on the 20th of March of that year. It purports to give the information furnished by him regarding Irish affairs in France and Spain when he was acting as an Irish emissary. For instance, he is quoted as saying that, when he arrived at Bordeaux, " he was cherished by Germatt (Dermot) McCallohan McCart(y), principal to the college and very ill-affected to the (English) state." Another volume of the State Papers tells how James Tobin, an Irish spy in France in the service of the English government, sent to his employers " a book printed in Bordeaux, the author Darby (Dermot) McCarthy, together with a treatise dedicated to O'Soulyvan, now in Spain, the book discovering the number of priests made in the college at Bordeaux." In the same letter Tobin tells of " a bull obtained by the same Darby for the erecting of a college at Bordeaux," while in it he refers also to the purchase of arms for the Irish rebels at home. The " book printed in Bordeaux," a copy of which Tobin encloses, was entitled: *Catalogue de quelques clercs ecclesiastiques Hibernois qui ont esté recus, nourris, et eslevez aux lettres en la regulière congregation, establie . . . en la ville de Bordeaux depuis seize ans.* . . . . . It contains the names of over two hundred Irish students who had received their education in the Irish college from its establishment in 1603 up to 1619. In the lists the following notable figures appear :—

Père Eugenius Cartaeus, du diocèse de Cluanen, abbé de Fermoy, qui a esté Superieur du Collège Hibernois dix à douze ans. . .

Père Patrice Comerford du diocèse de Vatterfordien, Augustin Reformé.

Frère Thomas Butler, fils du Baron du Dunebunie (Dunboyne), du diocèse du Casselen.

Frère Geofroy Ketting, docteur en théologie, Vatterfordien.

As the years passed, fortune favoured the Irish seminary, while increasing numbers of students from Ireland came to receive their education within its halls. In 1654 it obtained a special mark of royal favour when Anne of Austria, Queen-regent of France and mother of Louis the Fourteenth, endowed

it with an annual grant of 1200 livres, and in addition conferred the privilege of naturalisation on its priests and students. This striking mark of esteem was the result of an interesting incident. The civil war, due to the revolt of the Fronde, was disturbing France at the time, and Bordeaux was a stronghold of the rebel frondeurs. Spain was aiding these, and a Spanish force, containing 5,000 Irish exiles, occupied the city, which was besieged by the French royalist troops. When at length peace was concluded, it was agreed that the Irish battalions should have the choice of returning to Spain or proceeding to Flanders. Among their officers was Colonel O'Scanlon, brother of the Superior of the Irish college. Through the influence of the two brothers the Irish forces were induced to leave the Spanish service and enter that of France; and it was as a token of her gratitude for this act that the Queen-regent acted as benefactress to the college.[1]

During the remainder of the seventeenth and up to the last decade of the eighteenth century the college had a placid history. With the advent of the Revolution, however, troubles appeared, though both the church of St. Eutropius and the seminary, being Irish property, were immune from the hostile measures against ecclesiastical property at the time. On the 12th of February 1792 the Municipality of Bordeaux wrote to Dr. Everard, vice-Rector of the college: "If you wish to reserve your chapel for yourself and for the ecclesiastics who form your seminary, you need but keep its doors closed. On the other hand, should you wish to carry on public worship there, the decree of the Directory mentions the formalities which must be observed." With the establishment of the Reign of Terror in the middle of 1793 this immunity ceased. Two Representatives from the commune at Paris—Tallien and Ysabeau—were sent to Bordeaux, where they inaugurated a terrorist regime. Jails were filled, the guillotine began to

[1] The 5,000 Irish soldiers were part of the 30,000 pressed into foreign service in 1652 after their defeat in the Cromwellian war. Every tide carried shiploads of them abroad. Vol. 1 of *Analecta Hibernica* (1930) has a summary of the *Rawlinson MSS.* at Oxford by Mr. Charles McNeill, in which there are several references to the defection of the Irish soldiers at Bordeaux, *e.g.*,—"Nov. 1654. Report of discovery of a plot to betray the city to the French . . . ." . . . . "Prince de Condé is enraged about the business of the Irish."

work, and the misery of the citizens was increased by a scarcity of food. In October 1793 a mob attacked the Irish college, the students to the number of fifty were imprisoned, and the military Tribunal was established within its walls in the rue du Hâ. When the Terror was at its height, however, the fifty students were released and sent home to Ireland. This happy event was due to the intervention of an Irish priest, Father James Burke, who was for many years settled as *curé* of a parish beside the city. He was a zealous supporter of the Revolution, took the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and had become an intimate friend of Ysabeau, the all-powerful Representative. The latter was recalled to Paris early in 1794 and, under the rule of his successor, the Rector of the Irish college, Father Martin Glynn, a native of Boffin in the diocese of Tuam, was guillotined. He had not returned to Ireland with his students, but lived in concealment and, on being captured, was brought before the Tribunal on the charge of not obeying the deportation order.

Father Burke, through whose influence the Irish students were sent home, had a strange career. A native of Ennis, Co. Clare, he was educated at Bordeaux and was duly ordained a priest. He settled as curé at Saint Jacques d'Ambes near that city and, after 1789, became (as has been stated) an enthusiast for the Revolution and a confidant of Ysabeau. To the latter he gave much assistance in various ways. One day that official asked him what reward he would desire for his services, and Father Burke replied: "Save the lives of my fifty fellowcountrymen who are imprisoned, and preserve from confiscation the college where I was educated." Ysabeau promised he would do so and, when there was some delay in fulfilling the promise, Burke followed him from place to place begging him to carry it out—so stated Ysabeau years afterwards (*Attestation de M. Ysabeau*—Paris 1811). "As for the college," wrote Ysabeau, "it was impossible to save it, for I was not able to expel Lacombe from within its walls—Lacombe the President of the Revolutionary Tribunal and Robespierre's trusted friend. But I chartered an American vessel for the fifty students and had them conveyed to Ireland."

In the tangled circumstances of the time, when the executioner of one day often became the victim of the next, Father Burke, despite his revolutionary zeal, was himself imprisoned as a British subject. In a brochure entitled *Burke a sauvé la maison à Bordeaux* he tells how, when in jail in 1796, he learned that the Irish seminary had just been auctioned as "national property" to a tobacco merchant for 36,000 livres :—

> The enmity towards priests had not yet ceased, but at all risk I determined to stop the sale, and I prepared a petition with the aid of some legal men who were prisoners with me. Next day my petition was presented to the President of the Directory of the Department, and the delivery of the contract was postponed till a new order came from the Minister. Released soon afterwards, I fought the matter out at much peril and expense.

Father Burke was successful in preventing the sale of the college and, when in 1803 he discovered its lost title-deeds, the French government gave up all claim and appointed him its administrator. For several years he tried but failed in his efforts to have it re-opened. Exposed to much obloquy during his activities, he was championed by Lally Tollendal of an illustrious Irish family, who was a peer of France and Minister of State.[1] He declared that Burke, at the peril of his life, had saved the college during the Terror and, in doing so, had risked his last penny. Burke, as we have seen, took the oath to the Civil Constitution and as a result was at variance with the Church for some years ; but he was eventually reconciled to it and stipulated in his will for a perpetual daily Mass for his soul.

The college, which was situated in the *rue du Hâ* near the centre of the city and is now a warehouse, must awake many old memories in an Irish visitor to Bordeaux. Within its walls many notable Irish ecclesiastics were trained, like Dr. Geoffrey Keating the historian, the Abbé Edgeworth, Bishop Robert Lacy of Limerick (who was its Superior at the time of his consecration in 1738), Father Michael Murphy (the

[1] An anonymous pamphlet published at Bordeaux and entitled *Le Curé de Saint Jacques d'Ambes*, deals with Father Burke's activities and bitterly attacks him. Its author was M. Aurelien Vivie, who wrote *Histoire de la Terreur à Bordeaux*.

Wexford insurgent leader in 1798), and Dr. Everard (its Superior at the Revolutionary period and later Archbishop of Cashel).[1]

. . . . .

The proscriptions and confiscations of the seventeenth and the penal laws of the eighteenth century drove large numbers of Irishmen into exile. With a vague hope of returning to their native land, most of them followed the soldier's career and on continental battlefields gained renown for valour and chivalry. Some achieved distinction, too, in the diplomatic and ecclesiastical sphere, while others as merchants and bankers rose to affluence in various parts of Spain and France. Bordeaux especially was one of those towns which had for many generations an Irish colony within its walls. Notable families—Lynches, MacCarthys, Dillons, O'Byrnes, Frenches, Galways, Kirwans and others, of whom a short account will here be given—were long among its leading citizens. The Lynches in particular were for more than a hundred years prominent in its commercial and civic life. They were descended in the direct senior line (Cranmore) from the great family of their name, which resided at Rahoon near Galway and which gave eighty-four mayors to that city. The first of the name to settle in Bordeaux was James Lynch who, having escaped the slaughter at Aughrim, had followed King James to France. At Bordeaux he married a French lady, and from their union were descended the various branches of the family in that city. They had two sons, Thomas and John, and in the person of the former the family was in 1755 admitted by letters-patent into the ranks of the French nobility. John, the younger of the two, became a merchant in his native city and, by his marriage with Mary French of

[1] Besides the Irish College at Bordeaux, other seats of learning in that city seem to have attracted natives of Ireland during the 18th century. Joseph Ignatius O'Halloran, a native of Limerick and a brother of Sylvester O'Halloran the Irish historian, became a student of the Jesuit College there in 1736 and later, after entering the Jesuit Order, became Professor of Philosophy in its University. Ferrar, author of a *History of Limerick* published in the life-time of this distinguished priest), states that he was "the first that had courage and abilities to open the eyes of the University of Bordeaux with respect to the futility of the principles of Monsieur Descartes . . ."

Duras, Co. Galway,[1] had a son, Jean Armand Lynch, who entered Dillon's Irish regiment and subsequently rose to the rank of General in the French army. Thomas the elder brother married, like his father, a Frenchwoman and had two sons, John Baptist and Michael.

John Baptist, the most notable of the Lynch family in Bordeaux, was born there in 1749. He studied law, became a counsellor of the local *parlement*, and later its president. In the sharp struggle which took place between the *parlements* of France and the monarchy in the years preceding the Revolution he fought with his colleagues against the attempts to curtail the powers of these bodies. During the Revolution, however, he was a zealous royalist and, as we shall see later, was arrested and imprisoned. Returning to his home at Bordeaux after release, he became a member of the Council-General and was elected mayor in 1808. Two years later Napoleon conferred on him the title of Count of the Empire, though he was a strong partisan of the exiled Bourbon family. He was again mayor when, in March 1814, the English forces under Marshal Beresford entered Bordeaux, which had been evacuated during the previous night by the Bonapartists. At a short distance outside the city, Mayor Lynch and the civic authorities met the English troops under Beresford, who immediately wrote to Wellington :—

> The Mayor on approaching read a short address, purporting the satisfaction and joy of the inhabitants. He had yet on the tri-coloured scarf . . . The mayor was frequently interrupted in his short address with cries of *A bas les aigles ! Vivent les Bourbons !* and he finished by stripping himself of all the colours and insignia of Bonaparte, and putting on the white cockade and scarf.

In the following year, on hearing of Napoleon's return from Elba, Lynch hurriedly left the city and took passage to England. The Emperor, on arriving in France, declared that he pardoned everyone except his two greatest enemies, Count Lynch and Laine, another royalist partisan. On the restoration

[1] James French of Duras (brother of Mary who married John Lynch of Bordeaux) had a daughter who married Count de Basterot of Bordeaux in 1770. Their son succeeded to the property of the French family in Co. Galway and, having fled from the troubles of the Revolution, settled at Duras. The last of the family, Count Florimond de Basterot, died there some years ago. He was by marriage a cousin of the late Edward Martyn.

of the Bourbons, Louis the Eighteenth created him a Peer of France, but after the July Revolution of 1830 he left public life and retired to his country estate, where he died in 1835. Though twice married, he had no children, and seven years before his death he obtained a royal grant by which the remainder of his peerage was extended in favour of his cousin, Jean Armand Lynch. But, as the latter had no heirs, the peerage became extinct.

When the Jacobite cause was broken after Limerick and Aughrim, several members of the illustrious O'Byrne family of Cabinteely, Co. Dublin, emigrated to France, where some entered the army and others engaged in commerce. In the early part of the eighteenth century, John O'Byrne settled in Bordeaux, where he became proprietor of extensive vineyards. In 1770 he and his two brothers, Gregory and Daniel, were ennobled by Letters-Patent granted by Louis the Fifteenth :—

> Whereas our dear and beloved John O'Byrne, settled at Bordeaux, and also Gregory O'Byrne and Daniel O'Byrne, brothers, natives of Ireland, sons of John O'Byrne of Cabinteely of noble Irish extraction and of Lady Anne Colclough, having represented to us that, John O'Byrne having settled in France nearly thirty years ago, we granted him in the month of May 1758 our letters of naturalisation. . . . . we have by these letters recognised and do recognise the aforesaid John O'Byrne, Gregory O'Byrne and Daniel O'Byrne, brothers, for nobles, by name and armorial bearings and as issued of ancient lineage.

Gregory became an officer in Berwick's and Daniel in Walsh's Irish regiments, where they already had several relatives. In the latter years of the eighteenth century, John Augustus O'Byrne, " son of the leading merchant of Bordeaux," married Anastasia, daughter of William Healy or O'Haly of Ballyhaly, Co. Cork, and his wife, Maria O'Grady of Killballyowen, Co. Limerick, another of whose daughters married Charles Lucas (1713-1771) the famous Dublin politician.[1] There was at this time a considerable amount of inter-marriage between the O'Byrnes and other Irish families, like the Kirwans of Galway and the MacCarthys and Coppingers of Cork, then resident in

[1] Some of the descendants of Charles Lucas's family still reside in Bordeaux.

Bordeaux. The Kirwans had been long settled there as wine merchants, and one of them, Edward (as we shall see later), clashed with the supporters of the Revolution owing to his royalist sentiments. The various branches of the Coppinger family, owners of extensive property in Co. Cork, suffered severely during the Williamite regime, fourteen of the name being attainted and outlawed for high treason in 1691. Among them was William Coppinger, Catholic High Sheriff of Cork at the time. Two generations later his grandson was a prosperous merchant at Bordeaux, while the latter's grandson, Edmund Sexton Coppinger, was a leading physician there up to his death in 1883.

Representatives of the two illustrious families of Dillons and MacCarthys were prominent, too, in the life of the city. Robert Dillon left Ireland in 1746, while the Penal laws were still rigorous, and settled there as a banker.[1] He resided in the chateau of Terrefort on a small estate near the city. There most of his family of thirteen children, famous for their handsome features, were born. His grand-daughter in her *Memoirs* describes how one day, on rising from table, " he clapped his hands to his head, called out ' My poor wife, my poor children ! ' and dropped down dead." The Dillons were through occasional inter-marriage linked with the MacCarthys. Denis MacCarthy (" Lord of Beauje and Fonvidal ") was the first of the latter family to settle in Bordeaux, where he established a famous mercantile house known as *MacCarthy frères*. As he had no children by his wife, Jane FitzGerald, he invited his nephews, Daniel and John, to come over from Ireland. Daniel married in 1778 Eleanor daughter of Count Sutton of Clonard, a Wexford gentleman who was an officer of the Irish Brigade. (The illustrious Marshal Bugeaud was the son of the marriage of a second daughter of Count Sutton with a French marquis). During the storms of the Revolution, Daniel, who remained at Bordeaux, was arrested as a suspect, while his younger brother John, who had married Cecile

[1] Many Irish families were engaged in banking business throughout France in the eighteenth century—Waters, Quains, Rices, Coppingers, Callaghans, MacCarthys, Cantillons (For an account of Richard Cantillon see *Studies*, March 1932).

O'Byrne, settled in Hamburg till the troubles blew over. With the latter's death in 1828 the business house of *MacCarthy frères* came to an end.

Limitation of space prevents little more than an enumeration of the other Irish families that figured in the commercial life of the great city of the south. Lady Morgan describes the Frenches of Galway as having there, in the early nineteenth century, "one of the most flourishing concerns in the wine trade." Equally prominent at the time were the Bartons of Kildare, the Galweys and Sullivans of Cork, the Caseys and Bonfields of Limerick.[1] Regarding the last-named family, a memorial tablet in the Irish College, Paris, records that "M. Daniel Bonfield, négociant à Bordeaux, né à Limerick en Irlande," was a benefactor of the college. He died at Paris in 1784 and, having expressed a wish to be buried among his compatriots, was interred in the crypt of the old *Collège des Lombards*.

During the height of the Revolution, Edward Kirwan, a member of the Galway family established as wine merchants in Bordeaux, was imprisoned as a royalist for some time. Afterwards he became editor of a local newspaper, *The Spectator*, in which he was officially declared by the Municipality to have "vilified the Constituted authorities" and to be "corrupting public opinion by taunting the magistrates." He does not seem to have been brought to trial on the charge; a later entry in the municipal archives from the Minister of Police declares that he is suspected of having emigrated.

During the Revolution the Reign of Terror at Bordeaux was not as severe as in some other centres throughout France. The jails there, however, were filled with suspects, and more than three hundred of its citizens were guillotined. We have already seen that one of the latter was an Irish priest, *l'Abbé* Glynn, and that the Irish College, like other ecclesiastical establishments, suffered at the time. In addition there are in the *Inventaire-Sommaire des Archives Municipales* of the

[1] One of the streets of Bordeaux is named *rue de Sullivan*. The *De La Ponce MSS.* state that in 1809 "James Casey, native of Ireland, son of one of the leading merchants of Bordeaux, was appointed Lieutenant in the 2nd Irish Battalion of the Armée d'Espagne. Admiral Casey of the French service belonged doubtless to this family."

city various records showing that many of the Irish residents underwent the hardships suffered by those who were suspect or who, by reason of their foreign nationality, came under the decree of imprisonment issued by the Government. The following are some of the entries in the Inventaire :—

25 March 1792. Order from the Municipality to M. Everard, Superior of the Irish Seminary, to no longer celebrate Mass in the church of the Place St. André.

29 Nov. 1792. Genin (? Jennings), former assistant priest of St. Seurin, a native of Ireland, requests that he be either supported or placed under arrest, as he has no means of support.

8 Jan. 1796. Favourable reply to Thomas O'Byrne, who requested that his name be removed from the list of *émigrés*.

5 May —. Request of Robert Murphy, Benjamin Bloomfield and John MacCarthy, natives of Ireland, to be set at liberty.

8 March 1798. Petition of John Woods, Irishman, to be released.

21 April 1798. Petition of John Brennan, Irishman, to be released.

12 March 1798. The central bureau of the Municipality orders that Nicholas Hennessy, native of Ireland, interned at the Orphelins, be released, he having proved that he has lived in France for 51 years, served in Clarke's regiment, and resided in Cognac.

1 May 1798. Certificate of registration given to Richard Galwey, merchant, age 60 years, born at Cork.

There are declarations, too, made at different dates before the municipal authorities by various foreigners who wish to enjoy the rights of French citizens. Among these we find the following : " John Murphy, wine broker ; Matthew Gore, clerk ; James Woods, merchant ; James Dowling, merchant ; Michael Galwey, former physician in the armies of the Republic; and Michael Comyn." In 1789 the following are recorded as belonging to the nobility of Bordeaux :—Count John Sutton de Clonard, an officer of Walsh's Irish regiment (who belonged to a notable family of Wexford where he was born) ; Marie Dillon, " Lady of Terrefort " (widow of Robert Dillon, banker) ; William Connolly, " Lord of Lamothe " ; James FitzGibbon, physician ; Mark Kirwan, merchant ; John Count Lynch (later a Peer of France) ; M. MacCarthy, " Lord of Fonvidal " ; John MacCarthy and M. O'Quin.

Richard Hayes

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY REV. LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XLVI

CHRIST'S REDEMPTION-FEAST

DIARMUID Ó COÍCHAIG ecc.

1. Fíu a beatha bár tigearna
go dteardha ir tárg barámla
breith cáig go toig tigearna
'n-a goin dóib le dagumla.

2. Fiadh ann ag gach éanduine
ir cead leir gceann báidei-ne
mairg nach tuair teag rínime
'r a fiadh gan uair d'áirithe.

3. Teag Cárg cinid reanádaim
cách don tig-rin tionáilid
fíoch goine fíog fodaoinig
fíoch oile ní hionáirim.

4. Síoch dá chaob dóib daingnigid
a gaol re hóig d'airfhdeanaib
ní 'n-a fuilngid anmuirir
fuilngid ar thí tairrngeadaib

5. Fíon raor fa n-uair óirdleidhe
ir caor do chuar mórMhuire
beart coimhde cláir ríghnime
ar láimh oirdhe ógMhuire.

6. Ar ndíon [dóig a] dheagoinig
ag óig do bí [a] bharámail
rí 'r a láimh [ga] leanamain
do-ní fál ar n-anagail.

7. Cóir dealg an uair adainfear
guair nach ba cealg coibairfear
tarla ann ní neamoirchear
rí 'r a clann i gcomaigtear.

8. Do bac fár na fiorfalaḋ
teaċt ó Ghrár dar ngrádughaḋ
beag bríg doirne an Dúileamhan
coinne fíḋ dá fárughaḋ.

9. Lámh fa féir fíog ċorónta
ar ngníomh ní feiḋm faḋálta
re cóir a ċneaḋ ndoiḋíolta
bean a-báin ir barántа.

10. Rí fóirfear gaċ ainḋligeaḋ
tógbaiḋ dlaoi na deighligeaḋ
ré an oinig fa urḋubaḋ
oigiḋ Dé gur deimhneagaḋ.

11. D'féaċain nimhe ir nuaifligе
finne ir t'éanmhac d'éinfine
trí deilg go dún fíniṁe
tar t'feirg dún ir dréimire.

12. Fár ar gcean do ċeileabair
dar mbáiḋ ir beart toileamail
ní tóir mná gan mhuiriḋin
a-tá ar óig ót oileamain.

13. Do ċréaḋ ar-teag toḋuigtir
riḋ gan féaċain d'ainiṁċneiḋ
lá coinne im ċreiċ gcomhuigtig
moille t'eiċ ní haimigtir.

14. Do lion far luing mbáiṫtei-ne
tonn naċar ioc ógcoire
d'feartain ċrú don ċéaḋtuile
do leaṫnaig tú an trócoire.

15. Síoṫ a-fír do-fineaḋair
d'fioċ do bí 'n-a ḋuanfolaiḋ
beart féiḋ t'fine d'fóirḋin
óḋ ċriḋe féin fuarobair.

16. Agra ċean ar ċomhuigtiḃ
d'feart t'aċar naċ fagaiḃtir
dual díol gaċ fir anaiṫniḋ
fan gcíog liḃ ní labairtir.

17. Dioḋḃaiḋ ar ioċt t'ionṁuine
fioḋ do ionġaiṗ t'foġluiḋe
do ḃaṗṗ ní ḃia ar t'oiṗḃiṗe
naċ ṗia cṗann ar ġcoṁḋui-ne.

18. Roineiṁ na ġcló ġcneaḋaṗṗaiḋ
ġiḋ doiliġ ḋó an doiġeaċ-ṗain
do-ċí inne it uiṗeaṗḃaiḋ
ní ar tinne ná an tṗoiġeaċ-ṗain.

19. T'feaṗġ ġaṗ ṗiaiṗ-ne foṁaolta
naċ am d'iaṗṗaiḋ feinéaṗca
cṗuaiḋ ṗíḋ na nḋealġ nḋoiḋíolta
níṗ ṗin acht ceaṗḋ ceinéalta.

20. Do ġṗáṗ ṗe ḋlaoi ḋealaiġiṗ
maṗ ḃláṫ cṗaoiḃe ar ciniomain
ní ċuġ cṗeaċ uaiḃ d'anaṁain
t'eaċ an uaiṗ naċ inṗioḃail.

21. A mḃí d'ṗuil ṗet ioḋaiṅeaṗ
ní ar-toiġ fa ṗíoṗ ṗoṗloinnṗeaṗ
ṗeic t'fola do b'anoiṙeaṗ
ḋeiṫ ḋaṗ ġcoṗa i ġcoṁuiġṫeaṗ.

22. Mac ṗíoġ ġo nḋúil ḋeaġoiniġ
a ċṗú iṗ íoc im anfolaiḋ
fuaiṗ t'oiḋṗe ón óiġ d'oileaṁain
a ċóiṗ oiṗne d'anaṁain.

23. Ġan uaim ṗioḋ fiṗ anaiṫniḋ
ní ḋíol ḋit i nḋoṁainċneiḋ
cóiṗ ciġe ní cṗonuiġṫiṗ
mine ar cóiṗ ṗe coṁaiġṫiḃ.

24. Téiḋ faoiḃ cuṗ leṗ ġcṗuinniuġaḋ
fuil do ṫaoiḃ ġuṗ tṗoimfileaḋ
ṗífleaḋ ṗóin do-ṗinneaḃaiṗ
faṗ fineaḋ cóiṗ ċoilliḋeaḋ.

25. Siḃ ó ġṗáṗ ar nġeineaṁain
doḋ ġuin do ġṗáḋ m'anoġail
maḷaiṗt ḋuine ḋeiġeiniġ
taḃaiṗt t'fola ar m'anfolaiḋ.

26. Creach gan tóir troig thomgonta
cóir 'n-a fuil gérb inleanta
már leanb re luath n-oirdhreachta
a fearg uath ní hinfeachta.

27. Sé flóig ór é a n-áirithe
ní dóig hé dar n-éagui-ne
gnát triall go teach fífleirde
dá mbeat nach iarr éanduine.

28. Luib cabhra ar cóir ndoirdíolta
tarrla róin an roifréalta
teann tóir ga mbí barántа
dóig dí gion gur doirdéanta.

29. Do dhearg tuar bor mbairrleadhar
gan gort ní dual dheaghranar
fí re clár do cuibrigeadh
do bí i ndán a ndearnadhar.

30. Dar fúr do bí beogonta
fí gan fún a dhíogalta
tuar [dar] bean barr ndaonnacta
do threab le crann gcíogocta.

31. Rí ón fiort go hionmharail
ar líon ar gcean coimbrirdh
clann rúin ar óig urmairidh
cóir rúil rirín ruirgei-rin.

32. Creach Cárg far cóir aindeidheadh
i dtrát cóir dá gcruinniugadh
rug cách tar ceilg gcoillidheadh
ar rgát ndeilg gan duilliudhar.

33. Fleadh fíog ar fearr áirithe
faon 'n-a ceann nach caoilflighe
fríoch dóib fogha fífleirde
far cóir doila i ndaoinighe.

34. Dá thread cárb fearr éanduachail
leanb ir [rén i] raoirgnéichib
corg leinb fiadh ag fíogmátair
rrian re a feirg ó haoinbhéichir.

35. Bean fir iomdhar móirleire
ní mongnadh dí a daoinighe
lór linn mar lóg firfleidhe
an óg ir inn d'aoinfine.

36. Eadh croinn nar eadh infiobail
fardh feart luirg do leanamhain
rgiath Dé i n-uair ar n-anagail
do buail ré fan reanfalaidh.

37. Dá gaol féin ní fuairfeagam
raon réidh i n-a fiogláimaibh
ar clú ní fuil éimiarraidh
nar cuir go crú an cíogálaidh.

38. Leanb cíg do dhruim dualara
a cíg do buing beofara
guair fread corcra an cíoga-ra
rompa gan fear n-eolara.

39. Rí ar neam ir dóig deagoinig
friot bean dó fa dagfamail
ré rlóig gan fear n-anagail
a hóig gur bean barramail.

Fin.

Translation

1. The Lord's death is as valuable as (was) His life; that He died is news to give us hope; the bringing of all men to the Lord's house resulted from His being of His own will slain by them.

2. From our most beloved Lord all men get leave to come to the Feast; woe to him who merits not Heaven's house with its Feast ready at every hour.

3. The Easter-palace of ancient Adam's race—God summons all men to it; no peace-making is like that which is got by the death of the Lord of the multitudes.

4. He uses His kinship with the Virgin as a sign to assure all men of His pardon; the Lord who is the support of a great family (the world) supports them (while lying) on three nails.

5. The noble blood for which He had secured a golden cup was (spilled) on the hand of the Virgin Mary's Son; this, which saved royal Heaven's court, was one of the fruits which great Mary gathered.

6. Our salvation, giving us hope of generous treatment—the Virgin held the sure token of it; the Lord with her hand ever near Him (to help) builds a fence for our protection.

7. When the nail's debt grows urgent, I fear no guile can help us; something utterly wrong has come about, namely that a King and His folk are estranged.

8. The visit made so indulgently to show us His love checked the rising of the Creator's great wrath; His wrath has little strength when the peace-making visit prevails over it.

9. Our task (*i.e.* Mary's and mine) to serve the crowned King should not be done independently of each other; yet she, a woman, alone secures us against the debt due for the nails so hard to atone for.

10. The Lord, who would fain set right all evil, reveals a new way; the moon of generosity was darkened until the Lord's death was decided on.

11. The new way shown us to visit Heaven is that we and Thy only Son be of one stock; three nails form a ladder for us to climb into Heaven's fort spite of Thy anger.

12. Thou hast put out of Thy mind our guilt grown great—willingly Thou didst this for love of us; 'tis to no childless woman that recourse is had now that Thou hast been nursed by the Virgin.

13. Thou gatherest the flock and payest no heed to their blemishes; on the meeting-day Thy steed is never seen to slacken rounding up the *creach* of Thy foes.

14. The wave (of blood) that has washed away even old sins (?) has flowed in neath our wrecked ship: Thy blood-torrent bursting forth immediately spread afar Thy mercy.

15. Thy anger—a long-lived anger!—Thou has changed into pardon; Thou didst find it an easy task to get Thy heart to save Thy race.

16. 'Tis owing to Thy wounds that strangers are not charged with their sins—strangers as a rule have to pay (for entrance to banquet-hall); Thou sayest nothing to them of Thy wounded breast.

17. Thy foes trust in Thy loving spirit, that wood which has ever sheltered Thy plunderers; Thy reproach (of us) can never be so high that the tree of our salvation will not be higher still.

18. Painful to Him (Thy Father) is the sharp sting of the wounds inflicted on Thee of old, but, when He thinks of our being lost to Thee, that thought is more painful than the wounded feet.

19. Thy anger is so quickly soothed by our sister that Thou hast no time to demand the old *éiric*; the steel in the peace made by the priceless nails—none but a born smith could have stretched it.

20. Thy grace is shown forth as a flower that comes forth on a branch; Thy steed (*i.e.* the Cross) could not move but this did not cause Thy *creach* to get away from Thee.

21. The blood trickling down Thy sacred body can tell alas! something of the feelings in Thy heart; it would have been absurd that Thou shouldst shed Thy blood for the purpose of setting us at enmity with Thee!

22. The blood of the generous-hearted prince is the payment for my great sin; Thy Son's nursing by the Virgin caused His claims against me to be satisfied.

23. To refuse pardon to the stranger (guest at the banquet) is a poor satisfaction to Thee for Thy deep wound; no complaint is being made (by me) as to the debt due to Thy (wounded) breast, but—strangers should be treated gently!

24. The task of gathering us all appeals so strongly to Thee that the blood of Thy body was poured forth in heavy drops; Thou didst prepare for us a royal Feast, and with a view to it didst suspend Thy claims against all Thy foes.

25. That Thou, born for the love of me, shouldst be slain too for my salvation—this barter of Thy blood for my great sin was a transaction of a generous heart.

26. His successful foray meant for Him wounded feet; though He had to avenge His blood, yet, being a young prince (chiefly) set on asserting His right to His inheritance. He felt His anger should not be proclaimed.

27. As He is appointed Captain of the Six Hosts, He is not likely to reject us; men crowd into a king's banquet-hall even if He invites none.

28. We have now before us the great star, the healing-herb to cure our heavy debt—though we need not fear those debts now; a troop is ever brave when it has help to rely on.

29. The Lord, when fastened to the Cross, ploughed up the lea of His slender-fingered hands; every good lea must be ploughed; what Thou didst do was ordained.

30. The Lord, though sore-wounded seeking us, asks for no vengeance on us; with the spear that pierced His breast He ploughed the field whence he reaped a rich harvest of humanity.

31. The Lord, rising from the tomb as though from a coffer (?) broke through the cords of our many sins; the beloved Child goes to the Virgin; we may well hope from that loving meeting.

32. The Easter *creach*, one well worth speeding, was collected in due time; spite of foes' guile, men reached the shelter of the leafless thorn.

33. A royal feast, to attend which is our assured fortune, and the road to which is no narrow one—men have got this choice feast and should flock to it in ever greater crowds.

34. Could there be better herdsman for His flock than this youth of so blessed seeming? A queen-mother can ever check her child, staying him with a single word.

35. What wonder men flock in numbers to the spouse of the man who can sustain so great a burden; that we and she are of the same race is sufficient entrance-fee to the royal feast.

36. The wooden steed (*i.e.* the Cross) which can not move is the one we should follow; in the hour of our salvation God struck His shield, facing our heavy sin.

37. The scars, now smooth on His royal hands, tell of no lukewarm regard for His race; He left naught untried—not even the shedding of His breast's blood—in achieving His glory.

38. The darling Son to prove His dutiful love poured forth torrents of living blood from His breast; dangerous for men is that purple stream if they have no pilot to guide them.

39. For the Lord in Heaven—this gives us hope of generous treatment—a likely spouse was found; the Six Hosts had no one to save them until they got a sign of hope from the Virgin.

NOTES

From 23 D 14 p. 25 except for following.

1*b*. ḃaṙ.; baṙaṁaıl "likeness" also "conjecture," then "likelihood," "hope." 3*a*. ċı. 4*b*. -ṙṙʒ- 5*a*. ḃṙu. *c*. ċı. 6*a*. ḋó ʒo ꝺeaʒomʒ. *b*. an *c*. a 8*b*. *leg*. a ʒṙáṙ? *c*. ꝺoıṙṙe *d*. ṙíṫ ꝺá ṙ. 9*b*. ṙaʒ.; ṙeıṁ ṙaꝺáılꝺa "divided, not concerted action"? *cf*. YBL 154 v. 22 ní huaıṙ ṙeaꝺma ṙaꝺáılꝺa 10*c*. uṙṙꝺ. 12*b*. ꝺoı. *c*. ṁná 13*d*. -ꝺċh- 14*b*. (coıṙ) ós is common, "not obstinate," or "recent," (sin); the phrase is very elliptical if the translation be correct. 18*a*. -ṙaıʒ *b*. ʒe; -ṙın 19*c*. ṙíṫ; meaning of couplet uncertain. 22*a*. nꝺeaʒ. 23*a*. lit. "a peace unjoined"; leg. -ıʒ? 25*c* ꝺuıne 29*a*. ḃoṙ *c*. ċuıḃ. 30*c*. ꝺo 31*a*. maṙaıl "box," "coffer," *cf*. Philip Bocht 2 34, Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe xxii 35, YBL 154 v. 8; its use is strange here; líon might be "ranks." 32*c*. ċeılʒ; -ıʒeaꝺ 33*d*. ꝺola 34*b*. hó na reading uncertain. 35*b* honaꝺ 36*cd*. *cf*. 23 D 14 p. 197 v. 23 ṙʒıaṫ an ḃáꝺa maṙ ꝺo ḃuaıl 38*a*. ċíʒ; ꝺu. *b*. leg. ó a ċíʒ? ṙıu is placed at end of poem though it is not proper *dúnadh*.

THE LATEST PHASE IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

BY P. J. GANNON, S.J.

THE ordeal of Spain is now, we may hope, nearing its end. It has lasted longer than was thought possible at the beginning, just as did the Great War, just as will the Greater War with which we are threatened, though we are assured that it will be too terrible to continue for more than a month or two. In this ordeal human nature has been seen at its best and at its worst. Heroism has never surpassed, perhaps never equalled, the epic of the Alcazar or Oviedo; endurance and fortitude have never been better exemplified than in the month of awful wrestling amid the frost and snow round Teruel. The stubborn valour of the Spanish soldier, which made the Spanish phalanx invincible for nearly three centuries, has been once more revealed to a world that had largely forgotten it. Revealed, also, has been the mystic religious fervour which inspired the saints of Spain and the spiritual conquistadores who followed in the footsteps of Cortez and Pizarro to found an empire nobler and more lasting than any empire of the sword. Revealed, finally, has been the darker side of the Spanish character—namely, the volcanic passions fermenting under the dignity and courtesy which have always been salient features of the people. The eruption of these passiosns in the civil war, and not on one side exclusively though undoubtedly on one side overwhelmingly, presents us with a problem in national psychology. For example, how could there be found, in a nation capable of creating some of the sublimest works of art, not merely individuals but whole groups and sections eager to make a holocaust of all things beautiful? How in an intensely religious, sensitive, kindly and cultured race could so many be found to practise so much cruelty, blasphemy, sacrilege, and even profanation of the tomb? The explanation of these things is not easy either for friends or foes of this paradoxical people. It requires deeper study in a serener atmosphere than the present.

But the story of the great drama is all the more arresting on account of the problems it raises. Many have attempted to tell it—provisionally

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Spain's Ordeal. By Robert Sencourt. (Longmans. 1938. 10s. 6d.)
The Epic of the Alcazar. By Major G. McNeill Moss. (Rich and Cowan. 1937. 9s.).
The Tree of Gernika. By G. L. Steer. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1938. 12s. 6d.).
Guernica. The Official Report of the Commission appointed by the National Government to investigate the causes of the destruction of Guernica on April 26-28, 1937. (Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1938. 1s. 6d.).
The Tragedy of Spain. By Dr. Van Vollenhoven. (Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1938. 1s.).
Correspondent in Spain. By H. Edward Knoblaugh. (Sheed and Ward, 1937. 7s. 6d.).
Histoire Secrète de la Révolution espagnole. Par Léon de Poncins. (Beauchesne. 1938. 20 fr.).
Les Soviets et la France Fournisseurs de la Révolution espagnole. Par Pierre Héricourt. (Baudinière. 1938. pp. 121).

at least. Books, pamphlets, articles of every kind have issued from the printing presses of the world. A number of these have been merely propagandist and of little worth. They have only deepened the fog of war and made understanding difficult. Some have been more conscientious and veridical. The course of events and the passage of time have cleared up many ambiguities and silenced many falsettos. The truth is emerging slowly from the mists, and the main outlines at least are taking their permanent shape.

This will be evident to anyone who reads Mr. Sencourt's admirable volume, the latest contribution and, in many respects, the very best yet published—at least in English. The author was well qualified for his task by an acquaintance with the Spanish people, its literature and its history, reaching back for twenty years. He was equally qualified as a scholar and critic, trained in the traditions of research, balanced in judgment, and sober in statement. Hence we have history here, and not mere propaganda. As a reliable and convincing record of events, Mr. Sencourt's work takes its place immediately beside the two volumes of Prof. Allison Peers, *The Spanish Enigma* and *Catalonia Infelix*. It was written under " the warmest encouragement " of the earlier author, who apparently can rise above all narrow jealousy to forward the cause of enlightenment. Mr. Sencourt has not, indeed, rendered *The Spanish Enigma* or *Catalonia Infelix* superfluous. But he has taken a larger canvas than *Catalonia Infelix* and has brought *The Spanish Enigma* up to date.

This has enabled him not to supplant but to supplement the two earlier works, and thus to complete the truest, most intelligible, and most critically satisfactory account of a very tangled theme which we possess in English. Mr. Sencourt differs slightly from his predecessor in the fact that he holds somewhat more decided views and adopts a more definite attitude. He clearly believes in the essential righteousness of the Patriot cause. But he is not partisan, much less propagandist. He is not out to make a case. He tells the story quietly, consecutively, impartially, from the best sources available. He gives chapter and verse for all he says, with references which are easily verifiable. One has only to compare his work with the very best of the Left Wing publications to feel the immense difference between history and propaganda. Hence his conclusions emerge from his proofs or from his narrative ; they are not obtruded, never pressed upon the reader, or shrieked at him in the one-sided manner which Marxism has introduced into controversy. I think this book may be safely commended to all inquirers as the best guide book yet available in English to the very variegated terrain of the Spanish question.

The Epic of the Alcazar is longer before the public. But I would not like to omit all reference to one of the most moving stories ever

penned, which owes its power to move not to any literary artifice but just to the fact that it keeps as close as possible to the diaries and narratives of the men and women who lived through the whole astonishing episode. "This is no Grecian fable"; but it reads like one, like an Iliad or an exploit of Cuchulain. Again and again we have to remind ourselves that it is a day-to-day chronicle of events that happened almost under our eyes. It is indeed "a tale to draw the old man from his corner and the children from their play." Yet we owe it to no "Goodman poet"; we owe it to an old, shy, silent soldier, a few hundred ex-policemen, a handful of cadets, a small group of great-hearted women and the faith that surmounts the terror of death.

Incidentally, in an appendix, Major McNeill Moss disposes of a Red fable, namely, that of the massacre of two thousand surrendered prisoners after the capture of Badajoz. This once lively legend has now faded out. Even the Red press exploits it no more. But the Gernika story still lives, and is used to counterbalance, or more than counterbalance, the cold-blooded murder of 11 bishops, some 15,000 priests and religious (of both sexes) and 300,000 laymen and women. The cancellation is curious. But let that pass. Is the story as commonly told true? The answer turns upon the credit to be given to Mr. G. L. Steer, the author of *The Tree of Gernika.*

Let it first be said that his sincerity need not be questioned. He writes as one passionately convinced of all he says. Also as one who had great opportunities of acquainting himself with what he writes about. Further, his book is of poignant interest and of great importance for the whole study of the Basque War—that most tragic incident in a larger struggle, which has done more than most things to complicate the issues and divide the sympathies of onlookers.

Yet when we study his pages closely we begin to have grave misgivings about his capacity for impartial judgment or even for serious criticism. He identifies himself completely with the Basques. He so consistently eulogises their virtues, their courage, their "democracy" that the very pretence of impartiality is abandoned. He argues perpetually from a false supposition, namely that the independence of the Euzkadi territory (about the size of Co. Dublin and Co. Wicklow combined) and the freedom of the Euzkadi group (of less than half-a-million) must appear so important in the scale of things that the unity of Spain counts for nothing, while the alliance of Catholic Basques with Red revolutionaries in Spain itself, with Stalin and M. Léon Blum—that is with Russian Communism and Grand Orient Freemasonry—is entirely to be condoned. He fails to see that many who admire the Basque character and respect its sturdy spirit of independence cannot forget or forgive what was in effect a betrayal of religion, civilisation and the secular traditions of all Spain.

With regard to the destruction of Gernika again, which was complete and criminal, he is not so convincing for the critical reader as he himself imagines. He conveys at first the impression of speaking as an eye-witness. Yet he certainly did not witness the crime and cannot, therefore, personally testify to the identity of the criminals. His work must, therefore, be read in juxtaposition with *Guernica: The Official Report of the Commission appointed by the National Government*, where very different conclusions are drawn from the examination of many witnesses. Obviously this too is an *ex parte* statement and may excite mistrust on that account. Hence, perhaps, a better corrective to Mr. Steer is to be found in Mr. Sencourt's work, above referred to, pp. 237-249. Here Mr. Steer's various versions—first in *The Times*, *The Spectator*, *The London Mercury*, and secondly in his book—are compared, sifted and "devalued" with a scrutiny which certainly lessens enormously the credit to be attached to them. It would be too much, I think, to say that the guilt of the complete destruction of the town, which admittedly was due to arson, has been transferred from the German bombers to the Anarchist and Marxist allies of the Basques. But certainly Mr. Steer's confident condemnation of the Germans as sole culprits has been shaken very badly.

Dr. Van Vollenhoven was Ambassador of Holland in Madrid and resided in Spain for twenty years. As a stranger he brings to the question the impartiality of the stranger; as an ambassador he was bound to keep himself and his government well-informed; as one who has written a book on education in Spain he obviously enjoys the authority springing from serious study of Spanish problems. On the face of things then he is an admirable witness. Yet no book so far written has been more entirely damnatory of Azana, the *Frente Popular* and their allies than this. The verdict against them is unqualified, but not unjustified. Dr. Van Vollenhoven gives his reasons, and brushes aside the excuses so frequently repeated in the press of the world.

Somewhat similar but much longer and more detailed is Mr. Edward H. Knoblaugh's *Correspondent in Spain*. Here again the writer enjoyed special advantages. As correspondent of the Associated Press of the United States he was in Spain from 1933 till late in 1937, when he had to fly from the dangers surrounding the effort to tell the truth in spite of a censorship which had no use for any correspondent not complacently cabling its doctored versions of events. His position and occupation brought him into close contact with all the leading figures of public life in Spain during the four most critical and exciting years of its history. He had personal interviews with most of the men whose names have now been blown about the world.

Mr. Knoblaugh admits that his book *is* one-sided as far as the war is concerned, but adds that the only side from which he has seen

the war was that of the Loyalists (*i.e.* the *Frente Popular* and its allies). He writes thus from behind the scenes in Red Spain. And his verdict is nearly as damnatory as that of Dr. Van Vollenhoven. Even in Ireland " pink " criticism might seek to neutralise the value of his conclusions by calling him " Rightist." But surely one must ask what made this American journalist, with no natural affinity to Catholic Spain and with all his democratic sympathies inevitably enlisted on the side of the new republic, arrive in the end at a verdict, based entirely on his own observations and experience, as fatal to " the Loyalists " of the world press, even of the press Mr. Knoblaugh wrote for, as could be desired at Burgos itself.

The book is not like those of Prof. Allison Peers or Mr. Sencourt. It is a journalist's narrative of his efforts to get at the truth of things about him and send it to his employers. He found himself shocked by what he saw, disillusioned by what he learned, and finally threatened with death for his endeavour to get a little truth through a censorship that would have none of it. It is a most convincing book, for it is written without passion, though not without conviction. Further, it contains a lot of invaluable sidelights on personalities and happenings.

M. Léon de Poncins gives a succinct but accurate review of events from 1930 to 1936, with stress upon the activities of the Grand Orient and certain revolutionary Jews. As he documents his statements carefully, he cannot be lightly set aside. The first phase of the Spanish Revolution was Masonic in its inspiration and its leadership. Later Communism and Anarchism supplanted even Masonry as the really directive ideologies; and the Masons had either to react violently against them, as did Lerroux and many of the Masonic generals, or surrender to them, as did Azana, Prieto, Caballero and the rest. M. de Poncins has enhanced the value of his *Histoire secrète* by a number of Appendices, which contain very important documentation running into 128 pages—half the whole volume in fact.

M. Pierre Héricourt had already published the letterpress of his present brochure in substance as a pamphlet. Here he adds a hundred excellent photographs, taken by himself, of tanks, aeroplanes, guns, machine-guns, rifles, bombs, etc. captured by Franco's troops and gathered into war-material " cemeteries." From these photos it is visible to the eye that the Reds have drawn on most of the nations of Europe and three in North America for their munitions, but most of all on Russia and France. This book ought really to silence that special pleading which insists upon the " scandal " of Italian and German intervention, while seeking to gloze over or hide entirely the equally great, if not far greater, intervention of other nations on the opposite side. This debating trick savours now of sheer dishonesty.

P. J. Gannon

REVIEWS

Religion

LES MYSTERES : L'ORPHISME. (Collection d'Études Bibliques). Par M.-J. Lagrange, O.P. Paris : Gabalda. 1937. 75 fr.

THE veteran master of Biblical science, who died on March 10th last at the age of eighty-three, has left as his final gift to scholarship this original and penetrating work, in which he displays the full power of his erudition on a subject of great obscurity rather remote from his usual interests. This book forms the first volume of the fourth part of his monumental introduction to the study of the New Testament. Its purpose is ultimately to investigate the relations frequently alleged between Orphism, most famous of the Greek mystery-religions, and Christianity ; but in order to set this question in its true light, Orphism itself is first investigated very fully in its origin, character, doctrines, and influence upon Greek thought in general. The foundation for such a study in modern times has been laid down by Professor O. Kern of Halle in his great collection entitled *Orphicorum Fragmenta.* Although the subject has of late attracted considerable attention, only one book as yet exists comparable with the present work—Mr. W. K. C. Guthrie's *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, reviewed in STUDIES for June 1935.

Like Mr. Guthrie, Père Lagrange begins with the figure of Orpheus himself and decides, as against Kern's improbable derivation of his name from the hypothetical name of his " sect," that he may really have existed. In this connection he fails to notice the brilliant conjecture of E. Diehl, who has found the earliest mention of the name Orpheus in a papyrus fragment of Alcaeus (Kern, *Gnomon*, 1935, p. 475). Although in this fragment Orpheus seems to be already the propagator of a doctrine about immortality even before Onomacritus, whom Aristotle declares to be the author of the poems bearing his name, it still remains probable that he began his career neither as a real person nor as the eponym of a sect of " Lonely Ones," but as a magic helper in the ancient fairy-tale of the Argonauts. Perhaps the most original feature of Père Lagrange's book is his treatment of the problem arising from the Orphic identification of the god Dionysos with the Cretan Zagreus. He postulates a historical fusion between two distinct cults, one originating in Thrace or Phrygia, the other in Crete. Here again it is possible to hold that there is a transformation of myth into history. As Père Lagrange himself sees, the Thracian origin of Dionysos is anything but certain. Kretschmer's derivation of his name from the Greek Zeus and a hypothetical Phrygian word for " son " suffers from the weakness that the supposed Greek cognate of the latter word means not " son " but " daughter-in-law," and such recent authorities as MM. Gernet and Boulanger see in the religion of Dionysos very

ancient elements native to the soil of Greece itself. The fusion, if it was fusion and not rather a superficial differentiation, between Dionysos and Zagreus may well be a Greek phenomenon entirely, and far more ancient than is usually supposed.

In a long and rich chapter on Orphic initiation-ceremonies, Père Lagrange gives us a very penetrating and sound analysis of some famous monuments, well reproduced on good plates, notably the frescoes of the Villa Item at Pompeii. His views merit the careful attention of all specialists on the subject; they are marked by vigorous commonsense and close concentration on his material, and it is interesting to remark that on several details they differ from the more sweeping interpretations of his colleague, Père Festugière, whose work on the Dionysiac mysteries is very valuable. Another chapter deals with the most vexed of all Orphic problems, that concerning the age of the Theogony. Here Père Lagrange inclines to favour a much higher antiquity than is usually allowed; like M. Mazon, he is struck by the resemblance between Hesiod and the parody of Orphic doctrine in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, and believes that the former was already acquainted with Orphic teachings. His discussion of the gold-leaf charms from Thurii and elsewhere is less full than Mr. Guthrie's, but is marked by his customary acuteness.

In reviewing the question of Orphic influence on Greek literature and thought, he is most original on Pindar, advancing a new interpretation of the eschatological passage in the second Olympian Ode, but seeming to ignore the recent decisive demonstration by Professor H. T. Rose that the fragment on the "ancient grief" is Orphic in its inspiration. I cannot think that his explanation of the second Olympian does full justice to the Greek, and prefer to believe that the "feeble souls who at once pay the penalty here" are those who make a wrong choice in the assignment of new incarnations as described in Plato's vision of Er. The sections on Empedocles and Plato are very complete and full of interest.

In a final chapter, Père Lagrange brings his book to a point with his discussion of Orphic influence on Christianity. He has no trouble in showing that the alleged borrowing of Orphic ideas by St. Paul, too lightly accepted even by Mr. Guthrie, is wholly illusory. Orphism had already become little more than a literary tradition in St. Paul's time, and there is really no evidence that he knew anything of its doctrines. The same applies to apostolic Christianity in general. It was only at a later stage, when neo-Pythagoreanism had revived pagan mystic conceptions, that writers like St. Clement of Alexandria showed acquaintance with them, and their dislike of them went so far as to be almost positively unfair. Père Lagrange concludes that Plato's purification of Orphism had indeed important results in preparing

men's minds for Christianity, but that so far as actual rites were concerned the preparation was ' de la même façon, presque uniquement négative, q'une déception prépare à un grand amour.' M. T.

APOLOGETIQUE. Nos raisons de croire. Réponses aux objections. Edited by Maurice Brillant and Abbé M. Nédoncelle. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1937. 120 fr.

This great tome of 1,380 pages forms a kind of *Summa* of modern apologetics. But let us hasten to add that it differs from St. Thomas's *Summa Theologica* and *Summa contra Gentiles* in carefully avoiding the theological framework and addressing itself to the contemporary lay mind, which seldom has any theological training. It is traditional in substance, but thoroughly modern in outlook and presentation.

This science of apologetics is one to which, if I mistake not, we in this country have never grown fully reconciled. The defensive attitude about our faith does not appeal to us. We are ready to defend our social and political rights as Catholics, but it would hardly occur to us that our Catholicism itself needs any defence—much less a defence running to thirteen hundred pages. For the Catholic faith is in Ireland seldom overtly attacked or, if attacked at all, only in anonymous tracts or in a few obscure anti-Catholic periodicals scarcely known to the public. We are most of us blissfully—or shall we say happily (the words have different connotations)—unaware that elsewhere—in England, in America, on the Continent of Europe—Christianity has been and is being assailed all along the line. Every branch of human knowledge has been summoned to the assault. Consequently Christianity must summon to its defence all the sciences. Little wonder if the brief of the apologist be voluminous. Indeed this thick tome is small in comparison, for instance, with the five great quarto volumes of the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*. Another consequence of the manifold nature of the attack is that for a general defence many experts must be called in. And so we find that the work under review is the result of the labours of some fifty experts and specialists.

Apologetics has a twofold purpose, positive and negative—namely to put Catholics in possession of reasons for the faith that is in them and to provide defence against attack from without. This purpose has largely determined the arrangement of this work. Part I deals with some of the fundamentals of the Faith, with the nature of religion itself, with revelation, and with the miraculous. Part II takes up Apologetics properly so called—the Old and New Testaments, Christian origins, the Church—her doctrines, her characteristics, and her history. By way of comparison and contrast other forms of religion, Christian and non-Christian, are described. We may here draw particular

attention to the fifth section of this second part—*La foi et notre temps*, which first presents a picture of modern unbelief and then adduces as witnesses to the Faith on the one hand converts such as Von Ruville, R. H. Benson, Ronald Knox, Adolphe Retté, Léopold Levaux, Vernon Johnson, Huysmans, Psichari, Zanta, and Camelli, and on the other those who have not been converted. Part III takes up and answers specific objections that have been brought against the Bible, the history of the Church, her dogmatic and moral teaching. The authors have been at pains not to shirk or shelve these difficultues but to face them honestly.

Three further features add greatly to the value of the book—viz., a good alphabetical index rendering reference easy, 96 pages of excellent illustrations (besides many in the text), and copious bibliographies throughout.

It may be well, in conclusion, to call attention to the fact that this great compendium of the Faith and of its defence against the assaults of modern unbelief costs less than a pound, though it would be hard to overrate its value. S. J. B.

ANGLICANISM IN TRANSITION. By Humphrey Johnson, Priest of the Birmingham Oratory. London: Longmans. 1938. 6s. net.

THE Anglican Church has one creditable characteristic. Those who have been brought up in it and later have felt bound to abandon it seem generally to retain a sentiment of affection for it, which is almost uniformly absent in such as abandon the Catholic Church. The latter only too often spend the rest of their days in vilifying the religious mother of their youth and pass on, almost invariably, to a radical and embittered scepticism. (The reasons for this difference present an interesting psychological problem, which, however, cannot detain us here).

Fr. Johnson is no exception. Though now a priest of the Birmingham Oratory he writes of Anglicanism with a sympathy based upon pleasant memories. His quarrel with it is entirely on the intellectual, not the emotional, plane. Hence he writes with that understanding which can only spring from sympathy. This lends his book enhanced value, especially for those born into the Catholic tradition who, lacking all such understanding, find Anglicanism an enigma which no amount of mere study can elucidate. The difficulty is still greater for Catholics who are not Englishmen; for Anglicanism is as English as cricket or the school tie. It depends for its very existence on the English sense of logic—which means rather the absence of this sense, or at least the power of ignoring the hard and fast rules of the syllogism when they clash with national prejudices.

Outsiders at first are irritated by this attitude of compromise and suspect insincerity—which is unjust. The English are really a sincere race. Before deceiving others, they must first deceive themselves. But this process of self-deception has become easy to them and almost instinctive. It is seen in their politics and in their complacent sense of moral superiority over other races, but most of all in their religion, which is entirely a matter of compromise—even on questions where to all others compromise seems impossible.

Fr. Johnson understands the subtle psychology of all this, and just because he does he is able to give us, in the present work, the most luminous history of Anglicanism as a system of belief which we could expect. Not only is there no *odium theologicum*; there is not even criticism. There is just narrative of facts and exposition of views. It is history, objective, serene, orderly, clear and very effective. The most sensitive Anglican can hardly take offence at a single word of it or quarrel with its accuracy. His concluding sentence runs: "Whatever the future may be concealing from us, the story of the struggle of the rival parties in the Church of England will remain one of the most interesting chapters in the spiritual chapters of mankind." It could not have been told more interestingly than he has told it. But it is such a story of variations and inconsistencies that many will turn away in despair of making sense of it.

The book was written before the recent report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine was published, to which an appendix is here devoted. But even this is a review from *The Tablet*. Fr. Johnson was in the position of not needing to alter a sentence in his work. Indeed he has provided us with a perfect preliminary account of the historical background for the study of this extraordinary document, which manifests the complete theological confusion in which four centuries of controversy have ended. P. J. G.

A HISTORY OF ROMAN RELIGION. By Franz Altheim. Translated by Harold Mattingly. London: Methuen. 1938. 21s. net.

PAGANISM AND PAGAN SURVIVALS IN SPAIN up to the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom. By Stephen McKenna, C.SS.R. Washington: Catholic University of America. 1938. pp. ix+165.

The study of Roman religion has by no means fallen off in interest during recent years. Among the most active in its pursuit are the group of German scholars connected with the university of Frankfurt and known as the "Frankfurt school." Professor Altheim is one of the leaders in this group, and his writings have attracted wide attention. It is curious to note that whereas the earlier standard work of Wissowa on the same subject has never been translated into English, the book

under review has followed within five years on the appearance of its German original. The difference between translation and original, as far as appearance goes, is striking; for the latter was published as three modest volumes in the well-known Göschen series at a very low price, whereas the former is an imposing work of nearly six hundred pages.

This difference is in part due to considerable additions made for the purpose of the translation by the author himself. They include two long introductory chapters on the civilization and cults of pre-Roman Italy and important sections at the end on Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, on the causes of Rome's greatness, and on new evidence for the persistence of ancient religious ideas in full force into the third century A.D. The translation is very well made, though here and there, as in phrases like "the thought lies near" and "guesses on the subject are prospectless," it is easy to reconstruct the German original, and certain misprints (for example, a Greek word on p. 158) are transferred bodily from the earlier work. Perhaps the one serious blot on the work is its rendering of the numerous phonetic terms employed, on which Mr. Mattingly would have done well to consult a specialist. On p. 151 the statement that during the seventh century B.C. Etruscan artisans worked in Etruria is a little baffling: for "Etruscan" read "Corinthian."

Both Professor Altheim and his equally well-known colleague, Professor W. F. Otto, write in a style at once vigorous and vivid, which carries the reader along. Mr. Mattingly has succeeded well in retaining its vivid effect. His success, indeed, almost constitutes a danger, for the strength of the Frankfurt school lies in its power of imaginative reconstruction and of recapturing the ancient point of view, while its weakness is evident in the detailed materials which it uses confidently in great masses. The present work is absorbingly interesting, and contains something new and often startling on almost every page, but a great many of its details require laborious confirmation or are merely leaps in the dark. Professor Altheim's most original contribution to the study of Roman religion is that he has very gravely shaken, if not rendered untenable, Wissowa's neat analysis of its components into native and non-native, which was based on his interpretation of the phrases *di indigetes* and *di novensides*. On the other hand, his own view of the *di indigetes*, derived from another Frankfurt scholar, Koch, is anything but certain, and has recently been subjected to very severe blows.

There can be no doubt, however, that Professor Altheim's method of looking behind Rome herself for the general Italian history out of which her religion shaped itself, is substantially sound and fruitful. It has been rendered possible by the enormous development of Italian archaeology in recent years and by the scarcely less striking success with which scholars have penetrated into the Etruscan labyrinth. New

discoveries are certain to alter our conceptions of early Roman history even more drastically in time to come. The general effect of this process has been to emphasise Rome's debt both to Italy and to Etruria. Thus the story of Aeneas is now thought to have reached Rome through the Illyrians of S.E. Italy, and Etruscan gods have been identified with confidence on her earliest calendar. That Greek influence was both earlier and more far-reaching than used to be thought has been made probable by Professor Altheim, who thinks that Ceres, Tellus, and Flora, Volcanus, Liber, and his counterpart Libera, all were transmitted to Rome from pre-Homeric Greek religion through an Italic medium. Perhaps the most striking case of this penetration by Greek influences is seen in M. Benveniste's recent revival of an ancient tradition that the month-name *Aprilis* is derived from the name of Aphrodite.

Students of Roman history and literature would be well advised to study this book, especially in its later chapters, which present very illuminating views on cultural relations with Greece, on Horace and his role in Augustan religion, and on the survival of Roman ideas till quite late times. One rather curious feature, which Professor Altheim's teaching shares with that of Professor Otto, is an apparent readiness to believe in the reality of the pagan gods. Such expressions of this view as are to be found on p. 124 of this book, combined with the analysis of Rome's greatness near its end, where we are reminded of the Führer's *nachtwandlische Sicherheit*, show in what new directions German learning is beginning to move.

Father McKenna's work is a doctoral dissertation, and applies a very careful and conscientious method to a rather original, if unfortunately not very fruitful, subject. Exceedingly little is known about native Iberian paganism, and the practices against which the Council of Elvira legislated and St. Martin of Braga preached were either survivals of Roman cult or else mere examples of universal folklore. It may be doubted whether the author is really entitled to devote so much space to the controversies over Priscillian, who after all was at worst a Manichean and at best a victim of his own outspokenness. But the evidence is up-to-date and well handled and the conclusions clear. M. T.

Biography

SAINT DOMINIQUE. L'idee, l'homme et l'oeuvre. Par Pierre Mandonnet, O.P. Augmenté de notes et d'études critiques par M. H. Vicaire, O.P. 2 vols. Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. 1938. 60 fr.

Pierre Mandonnet, the greatest of modern Dominican historical scholars, died at Le Saulchoir on January 4, 1936. He had long been known for his work on such problems as the intellectual crisis of the

twelfth century in Paris, the significance of Latin Averroism, the date and authenticity of the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the contribution of other friars preachers to the new learning of that age. But, as a true son of St. Dominic, his mind was alert to see in all these epoch-making movements the beneficent result of a work which had been planned by the order's founder. In 1921 he published, in response to an urgent appeal from his superiors, a short study of St. Dominic which bore the title of these two elaborate volumes; and the essence of this later work is to be found in the reprint of the shorter work published seventeen years ago. For Mandonnet was a scholar who thought out his conclusions years in advance of actual achievement, and he was notoriously slow to put his thought on paper. His devoted pupil, Father Vicaire, gives an amusing and at the same time a very touching picture of the old scholar, whose learning had outgrown his capacity for literary production, and who one day scribbled the following few words on a folio of paper that would not get covered with ink: *Lire, joie; penser, délices; écrire, supplice.* Death came to him in old age, and he had not yet even begun to write the full biography of St. Dominic which he had been meditating and planning for so many long years.

His pupils have adopted a singular but (as it turns out) a very suitable solution of the problem which was set them by their master's scattered notes and incomplete drafts. Since the short study published in 1921 was itself the fruit of prolonged research and careful thought, they have been content to reprint it with no more alteration than was necessary to bring the references and other technical allusions up to date. But they have broken the text into sections and have inserted separate studies of detailed points, some of which are reprints of Father Mandonnet's own articles—all too few in number—and some which are more elaborate studies by his pupils, who have had the advantage of using his notes and following the personal instructions which he had given them from time to time. These two volumes are thus of a very composite character, and they are not always of equal interest or value. Most of the first volume is Mandonnet's own work, but Father Vicaire has added six short studies of points connected with the Saint's biography. The most interesting of these are two in which Innocent III's close participation in the work of founding the new order of friars preachers is made abundantly plain. For Dominic and Innocent were kindred spirits, and the Pope was quick to sense the value of the plans that were maturing in the Spanish canon's mind. The second volume deals rather with the work of the order as it developed after the saint's death. Mandonnet's contribution is here limited to an exceedingly suggestive study of the medieval symbolism latent in the title *Domini canes* and to a valuable article on *La crise*

scolaire au début du XIIIe siècle, which is reprinted from the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* for 1914. Father R. Ladner, O.P., prints a most valuable study of the decline of medieval preaching in the eleventh century and the significance of the new order's mission. But the bulk of the second volume is filled with a long, and very erudite, study of the Rule of St. Augustine as developed in the various orders (including, of course, the friars preachers) which was planned and begun by Mandonnet himself, but which has now been completed and published by Father Vicaire. The Dominican fathers of Le Saulchoir are to be congratulated on the work they have done in these important volumes.

A. G.

PHILIP II. By William Thomas Walsh. London: Sheed and Ward. 1938. 18s.

THE GOLDEN CENTURY OF SPAIN. By R. Trevor Davies, M.A. London: Macmillan. 1937. 16s.

It is natural that recent happenings in Spain should have awakened the interest of the general public in that country's past history, The two books under consideration are the outcome evidently of that interest.

The former takes for its subject only the lifetime of Philip II (1527-1598). The latter includes the history of Spain from the death of Isabella the Catholic (1504) to that of Philip III (1621).

Mr. Walsh claims that he has shown the Spanish monarch in a wholly new light. "Far from being," he says, "a sinister, morose, secretive person; at once bigoted and hypocritical; cowardly and cruel; dilatory and yet enormously active; bureaucratic and yet doing everything himself; a tyrant and yet the slave of priests and monks," the records show his character to have been sensible, consistent and "all of a piece." A similar claim to a novel presentment of Philip is advanced by Mr. Davies, but with less insistence.

Having considered the portraits placed before us by both authors, we are inclined to hold that the traditional view, although exaggerated in its shadows by national and still more by religious prejudice, is not without a considerable element of truth. Neither Mr. Walsh nor Mr. Davies has succeeded in transforming into an amiable or likable personage the gloomy monarch, whose rare smiles were regarded by his courtiers as of such evil portent that the saying "de su riso al cuchilla avia distancia" was current amongst them. Hypocritical Philip certainly was not; neither was he cowardly. He endured the horrible sufferings of his last illness with the most heroic courage and the most edifying Christian resignation. He was not the slave of the clergy. More than once he defied even the Pope. On the other hand, he was guilty of many acts of dreadful cruelty and injustice. He

crushed popular liberties. He ruined the trade of the Netherlands by his short-sighted economic policy and drove them into revolt by his religious persecutions. His decrees against the Moors, forbidding the use of their national language, dress and customs, remind us of the very similar ones issued against the native Irish by the Tudor monarchs, and in both cases the results were not dissimilar. The enactments which practically forced Christianity on the Jews and Mahometans and then condemned to death those who " relapsed " simply put a premium on hypocrisy and then punished its discontinuance.

Philip was certainly not without good qualities. The chief of these was his earnest and sincere piety. He was also charitable to the poor. Both our authors lay stress on certain amiable traits—such as his affection for his third wife and the interest shown by him in childish matters, which appears in his playful letters to his little daughters. But some of the very worst characters with which history makes us acquainted displayed, on occasion, strong family affection. Nero, when his infant daughter was dying, sat night and day beside the child's bed for almost a week.

One method used by Mr. Walsh to enhance his hero's reputation is to put up an elaborate defence of him in cases where he is accused, by his enemies, of crimes of which there is scarcely any evidence, as in his alleged poisoning of his half-brother Don John and of his unhappy son Don Carlos; or absolutely no evidence, as happens when he is alleged to have procured the death of his wife Isabelle of Valois. As regards other deeds which are quite undeniable, they are mentioned very briefly and without comment—sometimes, indeed, in a manner which suggests approval. When the Baron de Montigny, after a " trial " in his absence, is strangled in prison by the King's orders, an official declaration that he had died from natural causes being then circulated, the affair is called " a secret execution." The treacherous seizure and execution of the Counts Egmont and Hornes are spoken of as justified " under all laws, ancient and modern, Christian and infidel, and by the common consent of mankind." If this be so, " mankind " has evidently changed its mind. A statue of the two stands now in the capital of Catholic Belgium. Both Montigny and Egmont were Catholics, and received the ministrations of a Catholic confessor before their deaths. Yet we are told that his Catholic Majesty, " inclined as he was to clemency," " had to give way to justice " in their case. When the news of the Saint Bartholomew massacre reached this clement monarch, he (as a contemporary authority records) " rejoiced exceedingly " *holgo mucho*). The Pope, when informed of it, wept, but Philip was made of sterner stuff. The information that the Duke of Alba had, during his administration of the Netherlands, taken at least 1,700 lives did not perturb him in the least.

Rather more frequent are the instances where actions of the King which it would be difficult, on grounds either of statesmanship or of morality, to defend are passed over in silence or mentioned in a few misleading words. The tax (originally imposed by Charles V) by which a charge of ten or, in some cases, of five per cent. on its value was imposed on an article every time it changed hands by purchase—and which was one of the chief causes of the ruin of several branches of the Netherland trade—is spoken of in a way which would render it impossible for a casual reader to understand its nature. When Balthazar Gerard the assassin of William the Silent declared *under torture* that he alone was responsible for what he had done, this is mentioned, but of the fact that Philip had for years been endeavouring to procure the " taking off " of his chief opponent and that he assigned a rich reward in lands and money to the murderer's family (he himself had been put to death by the Netherlanders) nothing is said.

The truth seems to be that Philip, all through his life, had two aims in his policy, but two so intertwined that virtually they were one. He desired above all to promote the interest of the Church, whose faithful son he considered himself to be ; but that interest he conceived as bound up with the glory and the domination of Spain. This was certainly an aim at once noble and patriotic in itself. Unfortunately, a sort of strange spiritual pride so blinded the King that he regarded his own judgment as to what was the interest of the Church as infallible. Thus he held himself entitled, guided by this inner light, not only to oppose the Pope (whom yet he acknowledged as Christ's Vicar on earth) but also to violate, in order to attain his objects, the great principles of honour, truth and justice, as well as to ignore the divine precept of mercy. So, in a sense, he set his puny human intellect against the eternal wisdom of the Creator.

His failure was inevitable. His persecutions drove the Netherlands into revolt, and this revolt eventuated in the foundation of the intensely anti-Catholic State of Holland. His treatment of the Moors and of the Jews was one of the causes of the material decline of Spain—to which also must be added the crushing taxation rendered inevitable by his foreign policy and still more by the ruinous civil war which he had provoked.

It is true that in Spain Philip is still regarded as a national hero. The reason is obvious. To the Spaniards " El Rey Prudente " appears simply as the champion of Catholicity against Heresy ; the protagonist of a cause which, in spite of recent happening, is yet dear (as we hope and believe) to the great heart of Spain. All else is forgotten.

Mr. Davies, although he too is somewhat lavish in his use of bright colour in the portraits of both Charles V and of Philip II, is less prejudiced in their favour than is his fellow author. He admits the

folly and the evil results of the *alcabala* tax, and does not deny that the sack of Antwerp by the Spaniards in 1576 united "for a time" almost all the Netherlands against Spain. Like Mr. Walsh, he does not seem to disapprove of the treatment of Montigny, Egmont and Hornes; but he is more candid in his statement of the facts. Also, although he considers the final expulsion of the Moors, in the reign of Philip III, to have been in the actual circumstances unavoidable, he confesses that the injustice with which for generations they had been treated was the original cause of their implacable hostility towards their Christian fellow-subjects.

Mr. Davies is, however, prepared to go far on the road of exculpation. He defends Philip II's persecutions. "Religious toleration," he says (page 135), "can only exist when a large body of public opinion is willing to accept it. No such body of public opinion existed at the time in Spain—nor, for that matter, in any other part of Europe;" yet elsewhere he admits that the Catholics of the Netherlands did not desire the persecution of the Protestants there. We Irish may well feel proud of our record in this respect. Only 44 years after Philip's death, the Constitution drawn up by the Confederation of Kilkenny, while asserting the position of the Catholic Church as the Established Church of Ireland, gave full toleration to other creeds.

In spite of the points with which we find ourselves in disagreement, both of the books of which we have been treating appear to us valuable and well worth reading. Mr. Davies's account of the state of Spain in 1504, and particularly of its wool cultivation and its army, is most interesting. Equally interesting is the sketch of Spanish religion, literature and art with which he concludes his work. At the date of Philip III's death (1621), he sums up his view of the situation as follows:—

"Philip died leaving an empire that to all superficial appearance was supreme in Europe: invincible in war as in diplomacy, dowered with inexhaustible natural wealth and with a literature and art which was making her the hearth of European culture. Those who looked below the surface saw something very different: an exhausted depopulated country, riddled by corruption from top to bottom, swarming with beggars and hangers-on of the court, of the nobles and of the monasteries, and holding in precarious subjection states in Europe and beyond it that hated the name of Spain. To the keen observer the apparently solid façade of Spanish greatness was a paste-board stage property that would be blown down by the first serious storm to reveal the emptiness within." The short Golden Age of Spain was over. In how far may the policy of Charles V and of his son be held responsible for its briefness?

M. T. H.

Education

THE JESUIT CODE OF LIBERAL EDUCATION. By Allan P. Farrell, S.J., Ph.D. Milwaukee: Bruce. 1938. $4.75.

Fr. Farrell's book, which may be rightly described as a volume of great interest and likely to be of permanent value to students of education, is a worthy memorial to the fathers who begat him, *homines magni virtute et prudentia sua praediti, nuntiantes populis sanctissima verba.* In it he has brought together a mass of information that illuminates a most important period in the history of educational development, especially in its bearing on the practical work of the school-room. For it is in this sphere rather than in that of theory that the most distinctive work of Jesuit education has been accomplished.

Beginning with a brief account of the preparation of St. Ignatius for what was to be his mission in the world, the book goes on to discuss the personal contribution of the Saint to the educational work of the Society of which he was the founder. In all his activities one notices the strong practical tendencies which were characteristic of the man. This is visible in the clearness with which he conceived the end at which he aimed, and in the strong common sense which inspired his choice of means to secure that end. In none of his activities was this practical bent more clearly shown than in his conception of the relation between means and end in connection with the work of the school.

The importance of the part taken by Ignatius in inaugurating and determining the school-work of the Society is clearly shown by the copious extracts which Fr. Farrell gives from the vast correspondence he carried on with the members of the Society engaged in carrying out this work in different regions. These extracts show how closely he entered into all the problems that were raised in this experimental stage; and they show that the plan to be followed in achieving the aim was to be no scheme of improvisation, but a plan every detail of which was to be tested by the widest and most diversified experience. The *Ratio*, in which the results of that experience were embodied, did not receive definite form for many years after the death of Ignatius, but it is in a real sense the outcome of his genius for organising the means to secure a definite end. Fr. Farrell, in emphasising the personal part of the Saint in determining the educational activity of his Society, brings out a side of his character which has by more than one of his biographers been either neglected or misrepresented, with failure in either case to present a true portrait of the man.

When the Jesuits entered on the work of the school, it might be said that education was at the cross-roads. That it followed in the line it did was largely due to their work. There were of course others working in the same direction, but it is no exaggeration to say that in the Post-Renascence years the work of the Jesuits was the most

powerful determinant of educational activity. Statistics of the rapid growth of their schools all through Europe—often in spite of grave obstacles—make impressive testimony to the significance of the work undertaken by Ignatius and his companions.

Fr. Farrell gives abundant detail of the work of the early years. He keeps close to the records which the Society possesses of the work of its pioneers. Many of his pages are made up of extracts from those records, which give a singularly clear account of the educational situation in the different European countries. They have more than a merely academic interest, for they are almost always the work of men who in any age would be reckoned great educational figures, either as practical teachers or as administrators. One may refer to one of them in particular, Fr. Nadal, who might be regarded as the model school-inspector, whether we look on him from the practical or the executive side—two sides of the inspector's function which are not always happily conjoined in one man.

Fr. Farrell's primary purpose was to set forth the genesis and the practical prescriptions of the *Ratio*, but he does not omit to deal with adverse criticism of the Society's educational theory so far as it is implicit in its practice. While many of the animadversions of such writers as Compayré—perhaps the most important of the critics from the educational angle—may be discounted on various grounds, this cannot be done with all the criticism. Strictures on any educational plan to be fair must be made from a relative not from an absolute standpoint. The school is a social instrument and its function is to meet the needs of society at its various times. In the 17th century—the golden age of the Society's educational work—it cannot be denied that those needs were adequately met by their schools. It is pointless to judge their curriculum from the standpoint of our own time. *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis* is a saying which has special relevancy to school work, in which there must be secular alterations in respect both of ideals and methods. That the *Ratio* in respect of its curriculum was adequate to the needs of the time in which it was devised, and of the century and more immediately succeeding, is proved by the facts. Its methods have even greater viability, for in its arrangements for class teaching and especially for linguistic work one may repeat Bacon's phrase, *nihil enim quod in usum venit his melius.*

With such criticisms Fr. Farrell has not much difficulty. It is however somewhat different when he discusses the advisability of reconstituting the work of the Jesuit schools of the Golden Age as the norm of present day school-work. For example, the dominance of the classic languages, especially Latin. That dominance formerly was possible because it comported with the social needs for which the schools catered. To-day that dominance is impossible because of the

pressure of other subjects. Moreover the defence of the " imitation " practice in language-teaching, even when it is applied to the vernacular, will seem to many to be unconvincing. The psychological base on which it is sought to rest this practice will not carry conviction. If Latin is to be preserved—and one hopes that it will—its defence must be made from another angle, and ideals that were possible, even dictated, by the conditions of a former time will have to be modified. Fr. Farrell, it seems to us, does not realise the difficulties in this path. The *Ratio* has many admirable principles which are applicable at all times because they are based on the nature of things, and it is to be hoped that their new restatement in this admirably planned and executed book may bring back to practice ways of teaching which successful experience over a prolonged period has abundantly vindicated. And one may say that in no country more than in that to which Fr. Farrell belongs will a going back to the ancient ways be more beneficial.

W. J. W.

LITERATURE THE LEADING EDUCATOR. By Francis P. Donnelly, S.J. London and New York: Longmans. 1938. Pp. 293. 3 dollars.

In the four-and-twenty chapters of this varied yet ever fresh and personal presentation of his enduring central thesis, a veteran educator, still finely at work in the schoolroom and lecture hall, very fitly marks his fiftieth year of dedicated service. The excellent argumentative form of his numerous sections on Greek and Latin studies take note of many modern and quite telling departures and adventures; and while he portrays his own mind in his doctrine of " progressive conservatism " (xvi) and studies the objectives of literature under the title of " the classical teachers' target " (ix), the polemical power of his ten pages on " Theses and Teachers " does not fail to make the most of the weak points in such University Departments as those shown up in Dr. Simon Flexner's standard study of academic production beyond the Atlantic.

In many passages, Father Donnelly's pungent paragraphs do not fail to evoke the settled academic fact that in Jesuit and all other schools of the Renaissance epoch, 1540 to 1790, systematic training in literature studies began about 10 to 11 years of age and was definitely closed at the end of five years. The minds thus developed and matured on literature, as set out in many of these most readable chapters, were at 16 years of age, in all European schools and universities, transferred to the more exact and serious studies of Philosophy, combined with Mathematical and Physical Sciences, whence they passed two or three years later to the greater and more purposive Professional Faculties, extending from 18 to 25 years of age. The worthiest exponent, in his

life and constructive thought on and for university studies, is to be found, not in any modern English writer on " the subject of liberal education," reworded so as to read " the conclusions at which Protestants have arrived on the subject of liberal education " (1858), but in the life work of St. John Fisher, successively scholar, master, doctor, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge (1485-1535), organiser over many years of four of its colleges, practical promoter of their professional aims in Arts and in their major faculties.

T. C.

Historical Fiction

COUNT BELISARIUS. By Robert Graves. London: Cassell. 1938. 8s. 6d. net.

MR. ROBERT GRAVES is well known for his success in the imaginative reconstruction of ancient history as modern romance. In this book he takes his readers into an unfrequented period. His hero this time is not an all-too-human Emperor raised to divinity in spite of himself, but a great Christian general whose military skill performed the almost incredibly difficult task of reconquering Africa from the Vandals and Italy from the Goths for the Roman government of Constantinople. In the sixth century the real centre of the civilised world was no longer Rome but the new city of Constantine, and unfamiliar as is the life of the period to the modern novel-reader, its events have been described for all time by one of the greatest among historians. For the writer of novels it has the further unique advantage that Procopius has not merely left us a classical account of Justinian's numerous wars, with many striking portraits of the soldiers and statesmen who served him, but also a notorious *chronique scandaleuse* in which for some unknown reason he set himself to blast for posterity the reputations of his greatest heroes. The *Secret History* remained unmentioned for four centuries after the time of its composition, and no one knows how or when it was first published; but it is undoubtedly genuine, if it reflects even less credit on its author than on the victims whom it pillories with repulsive and generally exaggerated ferocity.

It is to Mr. Graves's credit that he is far from exploiting to the full the opportunities which Procopius affords him. His new book is a good deal less shocking than his *Claudius* novels, and would be less so still but for his curious choice of a fictitious narrator. Unfortunately, for another reason, it is also less interesting. Belisarius is a kind of *pius Aeneas*, with an unfaithful wife whose low origin is lovingly described, surrounded by treacherous enemies, and his end is darkened by an unmerited doom for which there is no warrant at all in Procopius. The fullness of Mr. Graves's material has on this occasion hampered him, perhaps because it comes almost all from one abundant source. His novel continually slumps to the level of a conscientious chronicle,

with the defect that the curious reader is beset on every page by the question where Graves begins and Procopius ends. Again and again we find him adding details of his own invention which are of a trifling character and give no help to his story. He is very much at his best when he departs entirely from Procopius, and when we need not wonder whether his peculiar versions of Greek place-names have any basis in fact. Thus the opening chapters, with their highly picaresque narrative of a fight at a Thracian inn and entirely imaginary account of a Byzantine banquet, arouse expectations which never get fulfilled.

Mr. Graves has a particular eye for military detail, and his descriptions of the numerous battles in which Belisarius figured are often worth reading for the liveliness of their reconstruction. But few of his characters ever become really interesting and his narrator, all too true to nature, is a tiresome old bore. He would be well advised to go for his next historical novel to a period where the documentation is less likely to get in his way. M. T.

THE MOTH AND THE STAR. By J. H. Pollock (An Philibin). Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1937. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS novel is founded on the relations between Amelia, daughter of John Philpot Curran, and the Shelley household—first in Ireland and later in Rome. It begins with the visit of Shelley and his girl wife Harriet to Ireland in 1812, with scenes at Curran's house, The Priory, Rathfarnham, and at their town residence in Stephen's Green. Half way through the book the scene changes to Rome, where Amelia again falls in with the Shelley family, consisting now of the poet, his second wife Mary, and their child William. Later she meets Newman and comes under his influence. The story closes with the death of Amelia in 1847.

The central theme of the book is Amelia's distant and hopeless love, or rather worship, of Shelley—" the desire of the moth for the star. " But there is no sentimentalism, still less anything of the " triangle " situation.

The book, like the rest of the author's writings, is tinged with a gentle melancholy. Death figures largely in it—the remembered deaths of Robert Emmet and Sarah Curran, the deaths of John Philpot Curran, of Shelley's child William, of Keats, of Shelley himself, and finally of Amelia Curran. But Dr. Pollock does not harrow his readers' feelings by description of death-bed scenes.

The book is fiction and not history, but the author has been at extraordinary pains to capture the atmosphere of the places and periods in which the plot is laid. This he has contrived to do not by long descriptions but by deft touches that in no way clog the narrative. He has likewise carefully studied his characters, especially Curran and

Shelley, but also the minor characters such as Shelley's first wife Harriet and her formidable sister Eliza, the loquacious Mrs. Tarrant of Marlay Grange, and the equally talkative Signora Marianna Dionigi. Some of the portraits are touched with humour.

Whether the etherealized being of the story closely resembles the real Shelley I am not prepared to say. It certainly embodies with wonderful vividness certain aspects of his personality. The darker side of his life is little stressed, and perhaps it is best so.

As to style and presentation, I do not think it too much to say that the book is exquisitely wrought. Not the least among its excellences are the intimate glimpses of nature in her subtler aspects.

S. J. B.

History

WATERFORD AND LISMORE. A Compendious History of the United Dioceses. By Patrick Power, M.R.I.A., D.Litt., Professor Emeritus of Archaeology, University College, Cork. Cork University Press. Educational Company of Ireland. 1938. Pp. 402. 7s. 6d. net.

As with the country in general so with the dioceses in particular the study of Irish history has taken a haphazard course. Many episcopal sees, and these not the least in dignity and importance, have so far failed to engage the attention of a private historian. On the other hand there are a happy few which Fortune has treated with extreme kindliness. As an example of these we may cite the diocese of Limerick, the long and altogether admirable history of which, from the pen of Archdeacon Begley, is fast approaching completion. Another scholar, comparable in eminence with him who has just been mentioned, was the late Canon Carrigan, the author of volumes of which the diocese of Ossory is justly proud. It would be superfluous to enumerate the remaining useful works of the same kind.

Canon Power, in compressing what he has to say of Waterford and Lismore into one volume, shows remarkable capacity for condensation. His knowledge of his subject is so wide that, had he wished, he could have written a whole series of tomes. But in the world of to-day the cost of printing is almost prohibitive, and so there was no remedy but to select from the abundant material the events thought most worthy of commemoration. In making this necessary choice the learned author shows excellent judgment and no mean degree of ingenuity.

Indeed the bird's eye view of the history of the united dioceses given in the Introduction (pp. 1-53) is a most successful summary. Here we have some account of the territory commonly known as Decies from about the beginning of the Christian era. Its fate is traced from the day of the conversion of its population to Christianity to the

mediaeval period, when dioceses, in the ordinary sense of the term, were formed round the episcopal sees of Waterford and Lismore. The two were united in 1363, but retained separate cathedrals and chapters down to the 16th century. In the nomination of bishops the power exercised by the English Crown was considerable. The prelate who ruled the two sees during the critical early years of Elizabeth's reign is described as " a pitiful time-server of the Miler Magrath type," a Catholic at heart, a schismatic in his external actions, though he seems before death to have been reconciled to the Church. Thereafter the united dioceses were governed by vicars until Dr. Patrick Comerford was consecrated bishop in 1629. After his death in 1656, government by vicars was again resumed. The city was rich in able men, of whom the Waddings and the Whites won world renown ; while the business community, too, provided a host of true martyrs, " who for religion's sake relinquished honours and social position for chains, prisons and crushing money fines." The ennobled adventurer Boyle could boast that he had not a single Papist on his Waterford or Cork estates.

After the Restoration the line of prelates was restored, but the new bishop had to live in hiding until the advent of James II brought better times. When the Treaty of Limerick was shamelessly violated, he stayed on in the country ; and when he died in 1693, he was buried at Tubrid in the tomb of Dr. Geoffrey Keating, the historian. A successor was appointed, but he was driven by persecution to spend many years of his life abroad. Hardly less troubled was the lot of the next bishop, but conditions gradually improved until with the coming of Daniel O'Connell emancipation was at last secured. Then came the labour, not yet ended, of repairing the injuries which centuries of misfortune had brought.

In the body of the book Canon Power gives a short account of every parish within the united dioceses. No incident of note is overlooked. A list of parish priests is supplied, in most cases from the seventeenth century to the present day. The superiors of the Christian Brother communities and of the convents, since their foundation, are also enumerated. These are interesting records, which will increase in value in the course of time.

As becomes a Professor of Archaeology and an acknowledged authority on the early Christian Church in Ireland Canon Power devotes a section in each chapter to the ecclesiastical antiquities that still remain. His work in this respect is of national significance and cannot be too highly commended.

There are fifteen appendices, on such subjects as the saints of the Decies, the temporalities of the sees, Miler Magrath's visitation in 1588, the " Hell or Connaught " forfeitures, priest-hunting, and the rolls of perverts from 1713 to 1790. Last but not least come

two convenient maps and five pages of beautiful illustrations. Canon Power deserves sincerest praise for having with such zeal and competence composed for our benefit so fine a work. J. R.

LE SECRET DE MARIE STUART. Par Roger Chauviré. Paris: Colin. 1937. 30 fr.

Of the making of books about Mary Queen of Scots there is no end. But this book is not to be confounded in the mass of lightly-written and ephemeral productions. It is not a biography, but an inquiry into two questions: (1) Was Mary innocent of complicity in Darnley's murder? (2) Why did she marry Bothwell, knowing him to be the murderer? The effort to answer them, to discover her "secret," to "proceed from the Mary we know to the Mary we do not know," is made with the most painstaking critical research; with amply informed historical vision;—and with the creative impulse of a psychological novelist.

"It is not texts that we lack, but faith in the texts." Fully to appreciate the critical quality of the book, one must have read the author's study of the Casket Letters (v. pp. 192ff) published in the *Revue historique*—and too deprecatingly referred to in the Introduction as "eighty algebraically dry pages." Algebra is not necessarily dry, and the essay would have been a valuable appendix to the book. It shows with almost mathematical conclusiveness that the letters in their extant form are quite untrustworthy; and that the use made of them, especially the disappearance of the originals in the hands of Mary's enemies, raise the gravest suspicions.

Rejecting these, then, the author examines and correlates the otherwise established facts, and weighs them in the light of that time, not of ours. Mary, in 1561, landed in a Scotland compared with which contemporary France of the religious wars was like "a young ladies' boarding-school" (p. 311). It was a perfect welter of shifting and conflicting characters and interests. In the description of this background, there are many passages that might have come from the pen of Taine: as when the writer (p. 11) etches in a picture of the Scottish peasant in his wilds or the noble in his fastness; details the sumptuous Darnley wedding or draws a full-length figure of the "storm-bird" Bothwell; touches and retouches the portrait, physical and moral, of the vain, tortuous, vacillating Elizabeth. In England Elizabeth and the astute far-sighted Cecil; in Scotland the fanatical demagogue Knox, the fatuous Darnley, the sinister Bothwell, the self-seeking brutal, shifty Lords; abroad France, Spain, the Pope, cautious, often misinformed, always dilatory: amidst these secondary figures in the drama, and against that distance, Mary, with all her human limitations, moves from scene to scene—sad or joyous, prudent or

daring or desperate, in constant danger, with brief moments of respite and success, until the decisive day on Carberry Hill when she watches her " army " melt away before her eyes. It was not a defeat but headlong downfall, followed by a long and tragic epilogue, from Lochleven to Fotheringay.

There are pages, we have just said, which by their choice and use of significant detail remind us of Taine. There are others, for instance the mining of Kirk o' Field, which are models of clear statement or narrative. There are scenes, such as the murder of Riccio, at which we seem to be present ; and situations arousing poignant reflections—Mary alone, Knox overtaken by his cowardice, Bothwell lying in his nameless grave. All through, some unexpected comparison, some sudden lapse into vividly homely language, humorous or contemptuous, makes the story real and near—and incidentally seems to belie the note of pure intellectual curiosity struck at the end of the Introduction.

The book is as finely constructed as a classical tragedy : exposition, crisis, dénouement. Memories of Cornelian heroines and their *gloire*, of Racine's Andromache and Phædra surge up in the author's mind. Has he perhaps leaned overmuch to interpreting Mary in the light of Phædra, and not enough in the light of Andromache ? In the terrible isolation he depicts, in the utter prostration that followed Darnley's death, amongst those Lords of whom Bothwell—there is nothing finer in the book than the pages that describe him—seemed the strongest and the straightest, may he not have seemed her only resource and a possible defender of her child ? Would not pride as well as passion help to explain her clinging to him at Carberry Hill ? And again, did Mary stage so to say her dignified and pathetic exit at Fotheringay ? Here we are in the field of intuition, and the author says himself : " It is the sign of great human figures to admit of, to call for, multiple interpretations."

Whether or not we accept all his conclusions, we are indebted to Professor Chauviré for a masterly statement of the evidence. The book is outstanding, and by its literary and historical value does honour to the National University which made a grant, acknowledged on the fly-leaf, to the expense of its publication. **M. R.**

LA CONGREGATION DU SAINT ESPRIT. Par Georges Goyau. Paris : Grasset. 1937. 15 fr.

When in the September of 1843 a group of eleven missionaries disembarked on the inhospitable shores of Guinea, West Africa, few could foresee the immense results that were to issue from this obscure and peaceful landing on inhospitable shores. The series of historical incidents which followed this event is told by Georges Goyau in his work. It is a comparatively short book of 284 pages. But in

that brief compass Goyau, in the manner of which the French writers have the secret, relates a story which should grip the attention of all interested in the ceaseless apostolate and ever fresh conquests of the Catholic Church.

The epic of the conquest of Africa had its origin in an enterprise which, at first, had no direct connection with Africa. Grignion de Montfort found himself in Paris in the course of the year 1703. He had given missions in many parts of France. He was afflicted at the precarious state to which religion was reduced in many places owing to the lack of zealous priests. At Paris he encountered a young Breton, Claude Poullart des Places, who, having won his degree in law, renounced the legal career and entered on ecclesiastical studies. Whilst still a student, des Places realised the urgent need for priests self-sacrificing enough to take up ungrateful and repellent tasks. He contemplated the founding of a seminary at Paris whose aim should be " to train, by means of a hard and laborious life and by the practice of perfect disinterestedness, parochial clergy, missionaries and ecclesiastics, who would labour in the hospitals, poor parishes and other posts for which the bishops should have a difficulty in finding candidates." This was the type that Grignion de Montfort was looking for in France. Poullart des Places saw the needs of France ; but his gaze travelled beyond the borders of his native land to the French colonies. His object was to prepare priests whose special vocation it should be to offer themselves for those duties and those posts in the Church which, being of their nature extremely unattractive, would not appeal to the average ecclesiastic. This was the dominant idea in the establishment of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost at Paris in the year 1703.

The founder, Poullart des Places, died in 1709, at the early age of thirty-three. The directors of his seminary, by imperceptible stages, formed themselves into a religious community with fixed rules and common life. They were characterised by a great loyalty to Rome and a cult of orthodoxy. They had much to suffer from the hatred and intrigues of the Jansenists. Having survived all these attacks, the community was dispersed and almost utterly destroyed in the French Revolution of 1792.

On the restoration of comparative order in 1802, Père Duflos with his nephew Père Bertout, practically the sole survivors of the former community, set about re-establishing the fortunes of the seminary. Success blessed their efforts. Priests sent out by the directors of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost laboured in Canada, the United States, South America, the West Indies and in the French colonies in the Indian Ocean. It was in great part due to their efforts that, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the Congregation

of the Propaganda completely reorganised the foreign missions and inaugurated, in its broad outlines, the system which has borne such excellent fruits since that time. The influence of the seminary was at its height by the year 1842.

At that time a convert Jew, Francis Libermann, was planning the foundation of a religious Society. At a distance of nearly a century and a half his mind, all unknowingly, found contact with that of Poullart des Places. He too dreamed of a Society whose members should be ready to take up those works in the Church for which the authorities would find it difficult to find priests. He drew up his plan for a Society. He called it the Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. He drafted the rules and applied to Rome for approval. The Congregation of Religious, finding such a striking similarity between the aims and ideals of the projected Congregation and the existing one of the Holy Ghost, advised Liberman to merge his Congregation in the older, long established and approved Society. This rather unique procedure was carried out on the Feast of Pentecost 1844. The Congregation of the Holy Ghost, founded by des Places, was refounded by Libermann, who became the new Superior General of the Congregation—whose title, thenceforward, was to be the Congregation of the Holy Ghost under the invocation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

Libermann's apostolic spirit animated and regenerated the old Society. Africa at that time was the most desolate region in the world from the point of view of Christianity. Hence he flung his first handful of missionaries on its forbidding shores. In a few months there were only two survivors of this first band. But nothing daunted, Libermann returned to the assault. His successors, inspired by his ideals, carried on the work and attacked Central Africa from the East and from the West. An ecclesiastical map of Africa in 1843, when the first missionaries landed on the coast, would appear as almost a complete blank, with some crosses here and there along the coast marking a few and tentative outposts of Christianity. To-day the same map is almost completely covered over with these signs, indicating that the Cross has been planted throughout the entire length and breadth of the land. The once dark Continent has been illuminated from East to West by the light of the Gospel.

This missionary enterprise has not been without heavy cost in men—no less than 530 died before attaining their fortieth year. But the sacrifice has been fruitful. The Congregation of the Holy Ghost has now charge of thirty-two ecclesiastical territories. Their apostolate is directed towards twenty-five millions of human beings. Their conquests for the Church number 2,165,000 Catholics and 150,000 Catechumens. Their apostolic army numbers 37 Bishops and Heads

of Missions, 1,428 priests, 882 brothers, and 3,350 aspirants. Their crowning achievement perhaps is the existence of twenty-two native seminaries in Africa with 844 Junior and Senior Seminarists. Already 63 native priests are working side by side with the fathers. A native sisterhood has long flourished in Senegambia, and the foundations of two other religious societies of native women are being prepared.

This interesting story of missionary enterprise in Africa and of the absorption of one religious society into another pre-existing one is told by Goyau in eleven chapters. Four deal with the history of the two congregations and their missionary activities. The remaining five deal with the manner of life and the spirit of the members of the Society of the Holy Ghost and the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Perhaps the best chapter in the whole work is the one that analyses the spiritual doctrine of the Venerable Libermann. All who are interested in missionary enterprise will find the volume interesting. It is somewhat a pity that the author, professing to write a work on the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, practically confines himself to the activities of what is but one Province of the Congregation, that is the French Province. E. LEEN

Philosophy

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ST. BONAVENTURE. By Etienne Gilson. Translated by Dom Illthyd Trethowan and F. J. Sheed. London: Sheed and Ward. 1938. 18s.

M. GILSON'S volume *La Philosophie de S. Bonaventure* was published as far back as 1924. We have had to wait nearly fifteen years for an English translation, and few works of modern French scholarship have been better worth translating. For M. Gilson has been steadily re-interpreting the history of scholastic theology, and this volume is perhaps the central point of his whole system. To put it briefly, the first modern attempts to view scholastic theology as a whole were made on the assumption that Thomism, which has emerged the dominant school of Catholic theology, must have been the inevitable goal towards which all medieval thought moved and from which there can have been nothing but decadence. This thesis is most familiar from M. De Wulf's admirable history of scholastic philosophy, which broke new ground at the time, but which has been largely rewritten in the recent French edition. M. Gilson was one of the first to understand the immense importance of the older Augustinian tradition, at Paris (where it was the main source of opposition to the new Aristotelianism of the great Dominican doctors) and at Oxford (where it remained in possession of the field to a much later date). St. Bonaventure has been interpreted on the assumption that his thought, in so far as it had independent value, must have been a more or less conscious anticipation of the full Aristotelianism of Thomas Aquinas. That

assumption underlies a good deal of the official commentary in the great Franciscan edition of the Saint's writings published at Quaracchi from 1882 to 1902. M. Gilson holds a very different view, and he states it with remarkable clearness and erudition in this volume.

A long introductory chapter sets St. Bonaventure in his proper background as the first great doctor of the Franciscan school in Paris. That the Franciscans should have had a *studium* at all, in Paris or elsewhere, was a novelty that shocked many of the older friars who remembered the simple days of Franciscan preaching. M. Gilson describes this struggle within the order between the friars like John of Parma who distrusted the new learning, and indeed all forms of learning, and the more modern school, headed by St. Bonaventure, who felt that Franciscan mysticism must naturally claim its right of being heard in the schools. The struggle came to a dramatic crisis in 1257, when the minister general of the order, John of Parma, resigned his office in protest against the new tendencies which he could no longer control, and was succeeded by the brilliant young master from Paris, Bonaventure. The new minister general set himself to organise Franciscan studies in the spirit of St. Francis, and his famous visit to La Verna, the scene of the stigmata, is symptomatic of the earnestness with which he sought to fuse the new learning and the older traditions of mystical piety.

As a philosopher, so M. Gilson holds, Bonaventure was first and foremost a Christian thinker. Utterly unlike the Aristotelian approach to metaphysics is his approach. For he begins by assuming the truth of Christian revelation, and seeks to explain the phenomena of nature in the light of supernatural knowledge. *Fides quaerens intellectum*: the phrase is more true of him than of any other master among his contemporaries; and it is significant that he found in the writings of Saint Augustine the inspiration for his personal interpretation of the mysteries of life. The astonishing virtuosity with which he was able to develop his thought in the form of artificial harmonies and symbolic allegories has often concealed its profound unity and simplicity. Starting from the essentially Augustinian conception of our intellects as illumined by the immediate action of God's grace, St. Bonaventure passes to an examination of all nature and in particular of human nature, finding everywhere the *vestigia Trinitatis* which Augustine loved to discover in God's handiwork. M. Gilson has written some of his most brilliant pages in those passages of this book which show how intimately Bonaventure's philosophy was connected with the typical Franciscan attitude to life. Francis of Assisi went through this world, marvelling everywhere at the goodness of God's work and praising the Creator for love of His creatures. Bonaventure, his spiritual child in spite of all the learning that has been added to the

primitive simplicity of Assisi, looks on metaphysics and physics in precisely the same light. Everywhere he sees the direct handiwork of God's creative power; everywhere he rejoices in the illumination that comes from God's truth.

M. Gilson has made himself recently the champion of an essentially Christian philosophy, and has found himself involved in heated arguments with Catholic apologists who deny the possibility of such a system as he defines it. Those who have read this book will feel that M. Gilson has probed deeply into the heart of medieval thought, and has shown that the philosophy of the Schools was at all times more complex and more vital than might be learned from our ordinary text-books. St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure are kindred spirits, if they are put in contrast with modern rationalism or medieval heresy. But they are two thinkers whose thought has been derived from very different sources, and Bonaventure had little sympathy for that philosophy of the pagan Aristotle which Albert and Thomas have succeeded in harmonising so wonderfully with revealed Catholic truth. None the less, there will always be many who prefer mystical piety to the meagre truths of natural philosophy; and St. Augustine, St. Francis and St. Bonaventure will continue to make their appeal to the eager, questioning young minds of the modern world. For God's truth need not necessarily be approached from the school of Aristotle.

A. G.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY. An Interpretation of the Science of Mind based on Thomas Aquinas. By Robert Edward Brennan, O.P., Ph.D. New York and London: Macmillan. 1937. 12s. 6d.

THIS excellent text-book combines judiciously an account of the principles and doctrines of St. Thomas with an exposition of modern methods and results in Psychology. The author avoids, throughout, heaviness of treatment and passes with a light touch through the masses of material. He writes in the easy manner of one who is familiar with the wide range of modern investigations. It is clear that he has, of set purpose, avoided overloading the work and has carefully pruned down the rich crop of psychological research, selecting whatever is most important, better established, or easiest for assimilation. He has similarly, in his survey and criticism of theories, confined himself to broad outlines and rapid sketches which hit off the essential points. Thus a sufficient presentation is given of the lines taken by modern advances in Psychology; and students who wish to enter more fully into the subject are shown what problems are being attacked, and are provided with ample references for pursuing their studies further.

A like selectiveness is shown in his accounts of St. Thomas's views. Here also he avoids erudite and detailed exposition, and his primary

aim seems to be to present the doctrine in a form which would be intelligible to students of modern Psychology and would not scare them away by too much technical discussion.

Thus, by a happy compromise, the author has succeeded in keeping the book at a popular level. Students of scholastic philosophy will welcome this exposition of Thomistic principles in conjunction with modern developments; while the work is, perhaps, more especially suitable for providing students of modern Psychology with a sufficient knowledge of the Scholastic principles. That this latter is a pressing need in the present state of Psychology is well brought out by Professor Allers in his laudatory preface to the book. J. S.

Politics and Sociology

ENGLISH POLITICAL THOUGHT, 1603-1660. By J. W. Allen. Volume I 1603-1644. London: Methuen. 1938. 21s.

In this first volume of his work on English Political Thought Professor Allen continues in a narrower field his *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, which we reviewed in Studies, June 1929. From the side of speculative politics the early seventeenth century cannot lay claim to great importance. Even the minute and exact scholarship of Professor Allen has discovered little in the pamphlet literature of the time which has much interest on the speculative side. The problems have become legal rather than political. This is true both of the controversy between the king and parliament and of the problems concerning Church and State. The actual controversies no longer turn upon any absolute logic but on matters of law and custom. "The struggle was as far as possible from taking place on the ground of first principles or of theories of the State in general. The battle was not even fought over any clearly formulated principle of constitutional law. To the end of this critical period the issues remained indefinite and only partially apprehended. . . . But on neither side of the controversy was any general and governing principal definitely asserted and adopted."

King James, no doubt, did in the *Trew Law of Free Monarchies* make definite claims to absolute power. He held some kind of vague theory of divine right in the monarch and of superiority to the laws. But he did not "actually disconnect himself from that law and custom of which the monarchy was part." His claims to create disqualifications for election to the House of Commons, to legislate for the Church with the co-operation of Convocation only, to limit freedom of debate in Parliament, to impose customs duties by proclamation without consent of the Houses were made on grounds of legal custom and not as conclusions from his theory of divine right. The main ground of opposition to all this, on the part of the House of Commons, was

"the belief in an ancient Parliamentary Constitution, resting on fundamental laws still more ancient." The House ignored the practice and the precedents of the sixteenth century and based its case on fictitious history. The Parliamentary claim was never definitely formulated in any consistent theoretical form. On the mere legal side the king seemed to have the more tenable position. The same is true of Charles I. He did not act with the same caution or moderation as his father. But Professor Allen is convinced that "it was the Royalist party that in 1642 was defending the law of the constitution as most generally understood at the time."

It would be impossible in a review to refer even briefly to the many problems discussed in the present volume. In addition to the controversies between king and parliament and the questions concerning the constitution and government of the Church of England, Professor Allen has elaborate discussions of toleration in the seventeenth century and of the meaning of Puritanism. Amongst the political writers of the period there are few outstanding names. Francis Bacon was not a political philosopher. He has no general theory of the State, however shrewd may be his political psychology and observation. Professor Allen thinks it a misfortune that "this great mind was so much occupied with practical politics." On the legal side "it was inevitable that Bacon should become a supporter of the claim of the Crown to disregard law on occasion as utility demanded." Milton's early pamphlets of 1641-42 fall into the period of this volume, and Professor Allen's analysis of them is admirable. If they contain much fine writing, they have little logic. Milton makes a weak case, and such case as he does make rests entirely on unproved assumptions. It is impossible to discover what theory of church government he really favours, although he is quite definitely opposed to the bishops and indeed to the whole clerical order. Both political and theological thought in this period are extraordinarily narrow and restricted. At a later time they came into closer contact with continental theories. Professor Allen's book will be of great value to all students of the period. He has the faculty of making these ancient controversies live and of penetrating to what is essential in all this extensive and confused literature.

D. O'K.

POLITICAL ARITHMETIC. A Symposium of Population Studies. Edited by Lancelot Hogben. London: Allen and Unwin. 1938. 30s.

THIS collection of papers, embodying the result of researches undertaken by the Department of Social Biology in London University, deals with quantitative and qualitative aspects of the growth of population. The introductory essay by Professor Hogben contains an account of

the relations of the three founders of British demography—Graunt, Petty and Halley, all original fellows of the Royal Society—to the intellectual life of their time, which was an age when scientific research and social practice were closely linked together. A contrast in this respect is drawn between the seventeenth century and the present day, very much to the detriment of our contemporary economists in general and in particular of some of Professor Hogben's colleagues in London University. While it cannot be denied that the impact of scientific progress on society is neglected in some schools of economic inquiry, the criticism of economists and their methodology is overstated by Professor Hogben, who seems to have been in a very bad temper when he was writing his "Prolegomena to Political Arithmetic," as he entitles his highly controversial introduction. Disapproval of the tone or disagreement with the matter of this introduction should not deter the reader from proceeding to the essays themselves, all of which are valuable and some of which are excellent.

The first part of the volume is devoted to a study of fertility rates. the contributors being Dr. Charles, Dr. Kuczynski and Mr. Glass. It is shown that in the greater part of the civilized world at the present time the "net reproduction rate" is less than unity, and that the population of these areas is doomed to experience a continuous decline, which is temporarily disguised by a fall in death rates, unless some significant change takes place in the birth rate. The causes of the decline in the net reproduction rate are discussed with special regard to the influence of urbanization, occupation and industrial fluctuations. The conclusion is drawn that an increase in marriage rates will do little to increase the net reproduction rate except in a few countries, one of which is Ireland. While it is true that an increase in the marriage rate in Ireland would increase the rate of natural increase of population, it would do nothing to reduce emigration, which is of course the cause of the decline in our population. Eire still exhibits a net reproduction rate slightly greater than unity, but this will not suffice to neutralize the effects of the increasing demand for labour in Great Britain where the net reproduction rate is as low as 0.8.

The change in the rate of the growth of the population of Great Britain will have far-reaching consequences not only on the supply of young people available for employment and hence on the demand for labour imported from Ireland and elsewhere, but in other directions as well. The change in the age-distribution of the population will exert an important influence on the demand for certain types of commodity and may induce a more conservative political outlook as the age of the average voter increases. In a population that is stationary or declining it is essential that every person should be used to the utmost advantage in order to avoid industrial and social waste. Square

pegs in round holes must be avoided when pegs begin to be scarce. Hence it is a matter of vital interest to ensure that the utmost equality of opportunity shall prevail and that industrial and professional occupations should be recruited from the widest possible field. It is to a discussion of this aspect of the subject that the second part of the volume is devoted, the principal contributors being Professor Gray, Dr. Charles, and Miss Moshinsky. A series of very original investigations points to the conclusion that there is still a high degree of privilege enjoyed by the more favoured classes in Great Britain, in spite of the large provision that has been made for the higher education of the poor, and that a great deal of ability is consequently wasted. Assuming the existence of differential fertility rates in different occupations there is also a possibility that biological waste is taking place, but on this subject it is not safe to draw positive conclusions. A final essay by Mr. Allison Davis demonstrates the lack of scientific foundation for racialist theories. Enough has been said to indicate that this collection of papers is of great value to all students of the social sciences, and it is not too much to hope that it will be of use even to economists in spite of the low opinion which Professor Hogben holds of their intelligence. G. O'B.

COMMUNISM AND ANTI-RELIGION (1917-1937). By J. de Bivort de la Saudée. Translated by Reginal I. Dingle. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1938. 3s. 6d.

L'ANTIRELIGION COMMUNISTE. Par J. de Bivort de la Saudée. Paris: Editions Spes. 1937. 12 fr.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF MARXISM. By Waldemar Gurian. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1938. 7s. 6d.

MARXISME ET FAMILLE. Par A. Ancel. Paris: Fédération Nationale Catholique. 1938. 4 fr.

Books on Communist Russia fall roughly into two main divisions—*viz.* books that are pictures of Communism in action and books that are systematic studies or criticisms of Communism—in theory and practice. Some books belong to both these categories. Of the former class we have had many in the last few years, such as Smith (*I was a Soviet Worker*), Delafield (*Straw without Bricks*), Conolly (*Soviet Tempo*), Rachmanova (*Flight from Terror*), Solonevich (*Russia in Chains*), Gide (*Return from the U.S.S.R.*), Lyons (*Assignment in Utopia*). Waldemar Gurian's valuable works, *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice* and *The Rise and Decline of Marxism*, are of the second type; while William Henry Chamberlin's *Soviet Russia* and *Russia's Iron Age* are at once narratives of experience and systematic studies.

Communism and Anti-Religion, which is a translation of the second book listed above, belongs almost wholly to the category of studies,

but it is a study not so much of the theories of Communism as of the realities of Bolshevik rule in Russia and of the machinations of the Comintern throughout the world, with special reference to France and Spain.

In the first chapter the author points out the incompatibility of Marxian Socialism with Catholicism, atheism and materialism being an essential element of the former. This has already been fully worked out in other books, for instance in *Essai d'une Somme Catholique contre les Sans-Dieu* (Spes, 1936), in which the greater part of the book now under review first appeared.[1] The two remaining chapters of Part I are a fully documented study of the persecution of religion in Soviet Russia and, in particular, of the relentless war carried on against it by the Union of Militant Godless, backed up in all its activities by the Communist Party on the one hand and by the Communist International (Comintern) on the other.

In Part II the author studies the war against religion carried on outside Russia by the Comintern, the Union of Militant Godless, and the Proletarian Freethinkers' International. He shows how this war, from having as its avowed object the destruction of religion, has of late years, while remaining the same in substance, taken the form of a struggle against Fascism, Fascism including every institution or movement which is in any way opposed to the aims of Communism. The author describes in a clearer way than I have seen it elsewhere described the rise and advent to power of the *Front Populaire* in France. He leaves, however, the impression, which is hardly justified by facts, that in France the *Front Populaire* is having things all its own way. Nevertheless its success has been astonishing; for it is a creation of the Communist Party of France which in 1932 counted only 10 deputies and in 1935 only 72. Yet it was able to enroll the Socialists who counted 146 deputies and all the other parties of the Left. In a year (1935-6) the circulation of its daily paper, *Humanité*, rose from 350,000 copies to 510,000 and on special occasions reached 1,200,000. In Spain the small Communist Party of only 20,000 members succeeded in organizing the *Frente Popular*.

A final chapter is entitled the "Outlook," and certainly the outlook is gloomy enough. I commend these last few pages to the serious consideration of Christian readers.

From a reading of this book two impressions stand out clearly. One is the intense hatred of religion on the part of the leaders and prophets of Communism and the determination to destroy it by any and every means. The other is that of a rising tide of militant atheism which, throughout the world, threatens to overwhelm Christian civilization, or what is left of it, in red ruin. This flood of destruction

[1] See also *Christianity Confronts Communism*. By Matthew Spinka. (Harpers, 1937).

is preceded by a flood of propaganda. One hundred and forty-six Communist newspapers prepared the *Frente Popular* (p. 92). "In 1935 alone Moscow distributed eleven million atheist books in Europe."

M. Gurian's book is an interpretation of the signs of the times. It is of the nature of a weather forecast with this difference that the actions and reactions of human beings are more unpredictable than meteorological phenomena, supposing equal competence in the observers. Competence M. Gurian assuredly possesses, and his prognostications are as likely to be correct as those of perhaps anybody within the reviewer's knowledge. But men are strange beings and mass movements are still more unaccountable, even to those in possession of all the relevant facts. But, of course, M. Gurian is not dealing solely with the future. He is able to point out in the recent past certain significant events and circumstances which support or seem to support his thesis.

M. Gurian's thesis is briefly this: Marxism is no longer the power it was; the Soviet Union is the living proof that "there has come into existence, not the Utopia of a free Socialist society, but a totalitarian State with a mechanism of compulsion which embraces the whole of life, treating human beings as cogs in the social machinery." He sees in the Popular Front tactics only another proof of the decline of Marxism, for it really implies a change of front. The Marxian ideology is degenerating either into a rhetorical formula in which no one believes or into an excuse for despotism. In the working out of this thesis the author gives us a valuable survey of the entire socialist and communist movement since the European war. For this English edition the whole book has been thoroughly revised by the author.

Close students of what is passing in Russia will be aware that since 1934 a certain reaction, directed from the centre of authority, has set in in favour of the family, its stabilisation and preservation. The question naturally arises as to whether this is in accordance with Marxist doctrine or is a departure from it. The question is ably and convincingly answered in this brochure. The author is at pains to set forth objectively the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Hoernle. Over against this teaching he sets the Catholic doctrine. The two doctrines are utterly opposed. But he also shows how the Communist ideas on marriage arose out of a twofold misconception. The first was that the institution of marriage was to be judged not by principles but by facts, and the facts from which Marx and the rest generalized were drawn from the practice of the dechristianised bourgeoisie of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Little wonder that they advocated the destruction of such an institution and of the family which arose from it. He further shows that the present attitude

towards the family does not involve any change of principles, but merely the opportunist adaptation of practice to circumstances. The little book is noteworthy for its judicial tone, entirely free from rhetoric and denunciation. S. J. B.

Books Received

Abbott, Claude C. Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins. (Oxford Press, 16/–).
Alciette, A. Pierre. Le Beau Voyage ou Deux Enfants à Lourdes. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.).
Altheim, Franz. History of Roman Religion. (Methuen, 21/–).
Attwater, Donald. The Golden Book of Eastern Saints. (Bruce, $2.25).
Auvergne, Dominique. Regards catholiques sur le Monde. (Desclée, pp. 147).
Azpilikoeta, Dr. de. Le Problème basque. (Grasset, 25 fr.).
Barnes, Arthur S. Christianity at Rome in the Apostolic Age. (Methuen, 8/6).
Belloc, Hilaire. The Case of Dr. Coulton. (Sheed & Ward, 1/–).
Bernard, P. R. Entretiens sur l'Essence du Christianisme. (Desclée, 18 fr.).
Berutti, Dr. C. Institutiones Iuris Canonici. 3 vol. (Marietti, L. 12, 25, 18).
Beylard, Hugues. Saint André Bobola. (Editions Spes, 9 fr.).
Bird, T. E. Westminster Version of the Scriptures. Book of Jona. (Longmans, 2/6).
Bonner, Robert J. Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle. (University of Chicago Press and Cambridge Press, 16/–).
Borkenau, Franz. Austria and After. (Faber & Faber, 8/6).
Borne, Etienne. A Philosophy of Work. (Sheed & Ward, 6/–).
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